

"They found the platonic relationship between Fay and I difficult to understand. They were polite to her and would go out of their way to look after her but they would always offer me the food first."

"We had thought it was important to take a woman doctor along to treat the Afghan women but we found that when they thought a woman was seriously ill they'd want me to see her. It's a male-orientated society and they are used to their women being kept within the family."

Despite being on a primarily fact-finding mission, the doctors treated up to 40 patients a day. Often they found that free medical treatment was included in the negotiated price for a meal. So while the guerrillas relaxed on cushions enjoying their tea, the doctors, exhausted from travelling and the effort of speaking in Farsi, would hold evening surgery.

"The Afghans are enormous hypochondriacs and are mad on medicine," says Grant. "The men would always be first in the queue with minor ailments such as headaches, backache or rheumatism and the women would be at the end with more serious complaints."

"The main illnesses are the sort of things that were prevalent in Hackney about 100 years ago such as measles, diarrhoea, malarial, whooping cough and tuberculosis – all infectious diseases and all preventable. The war is causing a lot of psychological problems such as depression – especially in the women."

Grant also found he was regarded by the Jamiat as their medical officer. "They felt my responsibility was to them and they resented me giving medicines to other people. It was quite a problem because whereas you normally give someone the treatment and they go away and wait for it to work. I was with my patients 24 hours a day and they would sit in the opposite corner of the tent or truck staring at me and waiting to get better."

The temperatures were extreme – very hot during the day and bitterly cold at night. The convoy rose at sunrise – around 4 a.m. – and ate dry bread and green tea for breakfast. They travelled from 6 to 9 a.m., stopped four or five hours at lunchtime – for more dry bread and maybe some watery soup, and pressed on for a further four hours in the afternoon. Their evening meal would be bread and rice with meat as an occasional treat.

At 8.45 every evening, the guerrillas would listen to the Farsi news on the BBC World Service while the doctors tuned into the English broadcasts. "There we were, living as we

might have done 600 years ago, just sitting in the middle of the wilderness listening to the Test," says Grant.

By now it was six weeks since they had left Britain and the convoy had got only as far as Sangor. Grant was getting frantic. They still had 1,000 miles to go; he estimated it could take between two and four months to complete the journey. The guerrillas had no real idea where they were and refused to take any advice from



Haffenden: in Afghanistan

the "ignorant foreigner" who actually had a map. "We'd get to the top of a mountain pass and they'd ask the proverbial old man sitting at the top which was the way to the bazaar. There'd be enormous scratching of heads and if there were two old men one would point in one direction and one in the other. We'd invariably go the wrong way."

The doctors wanted to buy horses and go on ahead but the guerrillas insisted it was too dangerous. "I was much less worried about my safety than the Afghans were," admits Grant, who was to be proved dramatically wrong.

Finally, he decided they would have to give up and start making their own way back home. "It was one of the most difficult decisions I've ever had to make. I spent all one night lying awake in my sleeping bag telling myself to be firm. I could see it would be irresponsible to go on."

He managed to persuade the guerrillas that he and Haffenden would be safe. "The parting was very sad," recalls Grant. "They felt they'd failed and I felt I had failed and we both liked each other. But I had to get home and I was quite certain in my mind that it was safe to travel."

By now, Grant had discovered how the transport system worked and he and Haffenden managed to get seats

on a jeep travelling to Angoon Bazaar where they could catch a bus or truck across the border.

It was a four-hour journey along a dirt road. They had nearly reached their destination, with only two other passengers remaining, when Grant heard the sound of a rifle being loaded behind him. Suddenly, a Klashnikov appeared over his shoulder, pointed at the head of the driver who was ordered to take the truck up into the hills.

"I glanced round and there was a very ferocious looking chap who appeared very tense. I asked him what was going on and he screamed at me to shut up. So I shut up."

They drove for about two miles into the hills to a small guerrilla camp. Then the gunman ordered the Britons out and sent the driver and the other passenger on their way warning them that they would be killed if they told anyone what had happened.

The doctors were confronted with seven guerrillas. The man who had kidnapped them was the leader. He told the Britons the rest of his group of about 50 men were away fighting. "He claimed they belonged to the Palestine Liberation Organization – but, in fact, they didn't," says Grant. "They were a small sect of a pro-Iranian movement."

The guerrillas fed them and searched them, scrupulously leaving both their money and belongings. The leader told Grant that he suspected them of being spies who were gathering information about the guerrillas to give to the Russians. However, he appeared to be impressed by their letters from the major guerrilla leaders according them safe passage.

Grant's impression was that the kidnapping was unplanned. He admits now to having been extremely frightened. "I thought he was slightly mad. Although he realized he'd made a mistake he didn't know what to do

about it. I was seriously worried because obviously the simplest way to get rid of the problem was to get rid of us."

The guerrilla leader announced that he would get the Britons' notebooks and diaries translated. He also took away Grant's books. "The thought of some poor Afghan schoolboy trying to struggle through *Little Dorrit* to see if it was a spy manual really concerned me."

He was now having long discussions with his Beirut-trained captor who was holding forth about socialism and life. The guerrilla wanted advice about his indignation. "I was sorry I didn't have any Valium with me because he was very tense and I could have given him anything under the guise of treating his indignation."

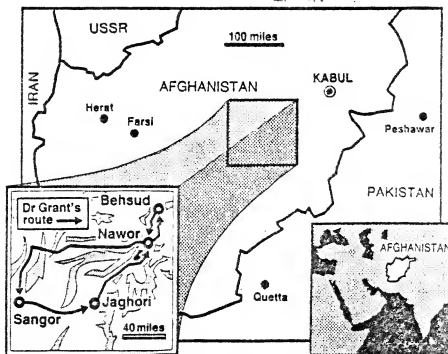
A student from the next village who had been given the English books to translate assured the guerrillas that their prisoners were not spies. The student managed to get Grant on one side. "He told me he was very worried about our safety and was going off to get some other guerrillas to see if they could rescue us and that got me even more worried," says Grant.

That evening, however, the guerrilla leader decided to let them go and – after being

relieved of Haffenden's camera and radio – they were put on a truck going across the border. Two days later they were back in Quetta.

When Grant's wife met him at London Airport she did not recognize him, bearded and two stone lighter than when he had left home.

Now back at his desk at Bart's Hospital, Grant admits that the whole experience affected him dramatically. "I changed totally," he admits. "I'm normally an impetuous person who doesn't take kindly to sitting around but I became totally laid back and much more philosophical about



Grant's route through Afghan guerrilla territory

# Afghans get new missile

by James Adams  
Defence Correspondent

things. The life-style was very seductive — I could easily have spent six months just drifting around with the guerrillas. In Quetta I spent a whole afternoon just bargaining for one carpet and I enjoyed doing it.

"While I was away I didn't miss Britain one little bit. I felt so much better for the change of pace that it is something I almost feel I'd like to do on a regular basis. I certainly came back recharged.

"The Afghans are the most hospitable race in the world. They really will give you anything they've got. They just

don't have much — which is why I became very thin. Now they themselves are looking for outside aid and they're not they getting it. They can't understand why Britain and America aren't helping them. They are passionately convinced that Afghanistan is their country and prepared to fight for it — even if it takes a hundred years. They have a fanatical hatred of communism."



Grant was surprised to discover that there are great expanses of the country untouched by the war where life continues normally.

"I travelled around for nearly four weeks and never saw a Russian. I was able to travel by day and night which is more than the odd Labour Party member who has been to Kabul at the Government's invitation has done. It does look as though the Soviets control only the major towns and then only by day.

"My view is that the Russians are not attempting to conquer the country nor win hearts and minds. I think their main aim at the present time is to create disruption."

Despite their setbacks the doctors' mission finally succeeded. A British medical team has for the first time been established in Afghanistan. Dr Haffenden is in charge of it.

"We had lengthy discussions with the guerrilla leaders about whether having a foreign medical team working there would draw air attacks on the Afghans from the Russians and they felt the need for medical aid is so great that they are prepared to take the risk", says Grant.

**GUERRILLAS** fighting the Russians in Afghanistan are to receive a new weapon system that could radically alter the way the war is fought. American cash, Israeli technology and Egyptian industry will equip the guerrillas with a new version of a Russian invention, the Sam-7 missile, to strike at the Soviet helicopter gunships.

The Americans are paying for the system because of President Reagan's desire to make the Russians "pay a price" for their invasion of Afghanistan. Last month the US earmarked \$235m in covert aid for the guerrillas for 1985, more than double this year's amount.

Pressure from Congress is largely responsible for Reagan's change of heart: he had been accused of putting anti-Soviet propaganda above the need to provide substantial help to the guerrillas.

For the past two months, Afghan guerrillas have been training in Egypt in the use of the new missile, using manuals written by American experts. The first missiles will reach Afghanistan in the new year.

"The aim is to force the

Russians to use their infantry," according to one US defence expert familiar with the programme. "Without the total air superiority they currently enjoy, they will have to use their troops and that will be very costly."

In recent months, the Russians have been using fewer troops and have relied on fleets of helicopter gunships. They can now respond rapidly to guerrilla attacks and destroy whole villages from the air.

Until now, the guerrillas have had no reliable counter to the helicopters. They managed to buy some ancient Sam-7 systems from the Palestine Liberation Organisation after it was forced to leave Lebanon. But although the weapons cost \$26,000 each, few of them worked and most are now unserviceable.

For most of this year the guerrillas have been touring western capitals, trying to obtain new missiles. But they

were largely unsuccessful because all the countries were unwilling to allow an escalation of the war.

But the Russians' helicopter tactics seem to have convinced the Reagan administration that unless something was done, the guerrillas might lose the war. So it was decided to supply the upgraded Sam manufactured by the Egyptians. The Sam, a Russian invention, was used with great effect by the Egyptians in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

The Sam-7 is a perfect guerrilla weapon. It can be carried by one man, is shoulder-fired and is simple to operate. The missile homes in on its target using an infra-red detector. But the old systems were easily fooled. On occasions, the guidance system was unable to distinguish between a helicopter and a camp fire.

The new Sams have a much improved system that can detect a helicopter nearly four miles away and are less likely to be diverted from their targets by the flares and metal foil strips dropped by the Soviet gunships.

THE LONDON TIMES 17-11-86



Turkman Felt Design



Happy holy warrior walks through liberated zone of Kunar. Photo: Mark Warman  
SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

# Requiem for a Nation

NYT 12/30

Orwell's year ends with all his imagined horrors realized in Afghanistan. Five years ago, the Soviet Union undertook a "limited and temporary" intervention at the "invitation" of a beleaguered Marxist ruler. He was then murdered by his supposed comrades, and a docile successor was implanted. The war thus spawned in lies, and waged in stealth, has now run longer than Stalin's war with Hitler.

Sadly, the Soviet method "works." The Kremlin can rotate recruits to maintain an occupation force of 115,000 without worrying about dissent at home or protest abroad. A war that threatens a nation with extinction draws little more than token censure by the United Nations. And since Afghanistan is officially closed, much of the world finds it convenient to look the other way.

The indifference is too often excused by the claim that the most appalling accounts of Soviet atrocities come from refugees and resistance fighters given to overstatement. But that does not hold for the hundred-odd European physicians working in medical centers in the insurgent regions of Afghanistan.

"When an Afghan woman tells you she left home because Russian soldiers killed almost everyone in her village, including her children, you wonder," one doctor told The Times's William Borders. "But over the months, when two dozen more Afghan women from various parts of the country come in with exactly the same story, it begins to seem inescapably true."

What Mr. Borders learned in just two weeks along the Afghan frontier in Pakistan is amply corroborated by a Helsinki Watch team that also conducted scores of interviews there: "It soon became clear that just about every conceivable human rights violation is occurring, and on an enormous scale."

The team's report lists indiscriminate bombings, reprisals against villages and villagers, sum-

mary executions, the mining of inhabited areas and homes, the planting of grenades on corpses, destruction of agriculture, theft of civilian property, desecration of mosques, killing prisoners of war, wreckage of hospitals, assaults on journalists, training children as spies — all violations of Geneva conventions to which the Soviet Union has solemnly subscribed.

Unable to win hearts and minds, the invaders now aim lower. The overwhelming evidence is that in 1984 the Soviet occupiers widened the war to destroy food production in rebel-held areas. Refugees fleeing these regions are being forcibly interned to prevent their joining an exodus of more than four million refugees, a fourth of Afghanistan's pre-invasion population.

Not since the Stalin era have massive crimes like these been credibly charged against the Soviet Union. Yet there are no war crimes tribunals in Stockholm to weigh the evidence, as happened when the United States was charged with atrocities in Vietnam. When a Politburo member visited London, there were no demonstrators chanting "How many children did you kill today?" The nonaligned nations that protest so quickly for displaced Palestinians say little or nothing about four million Afghan refugees.

The explanation for this double standard is that only democracies heed protest, or that more is expected of them. That weak and callous argument is worthy of "1984."

There are military and political constraints on helping the Afghan resistance, but none on speaking out for the victims of this appalling, pointless aggression. No one ever challenged Afghanistan's neutrality. Soviet influence there was assured forever without any invasion. "A whole nation is dying," a resistance leader said to the Helsinki Watch team. "People should know." They should indeed.

From an article by William Borders on 12/20:

In a rose garden in Islamabad, another refugee named Khalilullah Khalili, who is one of Afghanistan's best known poets, likes to sit in the sunshine, thinking "that this same sun is shining, not far away, on my oppressed and captive land."

Mr. Khalili, who is 80 years old, was the Afghan Ambassador to Iraq at the time of the first pro-Soviet coup in Kabul, the Afghan capital, in 1973, and he has not been home since. Now, instead of the romantic lyrics he used to write, he composes patriotic poetry.

## Verses faken into Country

Guerrilla commanders who come to visit him take the verses back, hand-copied or on cassettes recorded by the poet. In the long Afghan tradition of oral literature, they are recited in the fighters' camps at night, and sometimes at their funerals.

"Maybe I am just an old man with a dream, a sad bird whose nest has been taken away," said Mr. Khalili, who has a white beard and a brown embroidered leather robe that touches the ground. "But I think we can drive the vulture out of our nest, and maybe my verses can help."

Then, in a voice that became suddenly strong and musical, he recited, as his son respectfully translated from the Persian:

*Tell spring not to come this year, because the grass of my country grows not green out red with blood*

*Tell the nightingale not to sing. But you, our nation's fighting men, History will kiss your forehead if you make us free.*

NYT

On 2/4, in a formal ceremony at the UN, Afghanistan signed the UN Convention against Torture & Other Cruel, Inhuman & Degrading Treatment & Punishment.

UN Press Release

2/4/85



Talk  
rushed  
gill,  
from  
Turkmen  
carpet

Dr. Alec Anderson, a specialist in tropical medicine & nutrition, entered Afghanistan with a team from Medecins sans Frontieres in June 1983. Dr. Anderson worked at Teshkhan in Southern Badakhshan until September 1984. He was interviewed in Peshawar in November by Charles Brockunier of the Cambridge (MA) Free Afghanistan Alliance who kindly sent the FORUM a copy of the interview tape. Excerpts follow:

CB: Did the Soviets know you were working there?

AA: Yes - well I think it was pretty certain. In fact, the Communists are very well informed about what's going on & in the same way the mujahideen were very well informed about what goes on in Communist areas. There are a lot of people going back & forth so it's easy to get plenty of information both ways.

CB: Did they try to capture you?

AA: Not actually capture, but the hospitals that we were running in 3 different places were all attacked....

CB: Do the Tajiks in Badakhshan have ties with Tajiks in the USSR?

AA: They certainly have a fellow feeling for the Tajik people there & I am told that there has been some communication... but I'm also told that now it is extremely difficult, especially since a mujahideen raid into Russian territory in the Dawaz area across the Amu Darya...where the mujahideen laid some mines ...& caused a number of casualties including deaths. That border has been considerably reinforced & is now very heavily guarded so that it must be difficult for people to go back & forth...

CB: What about parties in Badakhshan?

AA: Most of Badakhshan which is not controlled by the Communists adheres to the Jamiat-Islami party. There are a few areas which belong to the Hisbe-Islami party & there is sometimes trouble between them - some fighting at times - not on a very big scale.

CB: Did you see any Soviet prisoners?

AA: I never saw a single Communist prisoner... They are taken but as far as I could find out they are pretty rapidly executed - unless - what I am told by the mujahideen is that if they consider the prisoners Muslims, i.e. Afghan conscripts or Muslim Central Asians, then they let them off.

CB: What about the supply routes?

AA: Any type of supply is very difficult for Badakhshan - especially now as people have to go by way of Nuristan instead of the easier way by Panjsher. And the really easy route, unfortunately, is closed by the Russian base at Kurrana Munjam. That route is much quicker... Unfortunately the mujahideen have never been able to take Kurrana Munjam & clear the route - except for some very difficult routes - risky & which pack animals can't travel....

The Russians control most of the lower-lying part of the country (Badakhshan) which makes travel difficult.

CB: If a US-sponsored medical team were brought in would it face more difficulties than the French?

AA: Yes.. for 2 reasons. 1...which is that to a lot of nations it simply looks like just another American-Russian confrontation. The 2nd reason, I regret to say, is that America is presently rather unpopular with the mujahideen & the Afghan population. I think, perhaps, for one reason this is probably spread over from Iran. For example, Khomeini is very highly regarded certainly amongst the Tajik population - as in Badakhshan which is mainly Tajik. They are, of course, Persian racially - nearly all Sunni but you can call them 1st cousins of the Iranians. Their culture is ...Persian though there it is very unsophisticated... So I think for these reasons there might be considerable difficulty for American people working inside Afghanistan... For example, at the hospital we were using which, before we started using it..., was a sort of barracks for the mujahideen. There was a poster on the wall - the poster showed a row of Russian graves on 1 side & a row of American graves on the other side & apparently they were equating - this was supposed to illustrate that both the Russians & the Americans were... imperialistic type enemies.

One thing that used to interest me was why they were fighting this war at all. As far as I could make out the general attitude of the ordinary people there, whom I should say are very unsophisticated people with very few exceptions, said they are fighting a war on behalf of their religion - fighting as Muslims against people who have no religion...

CB: I would say there was an element of nationalism in that.

AA: I think that to the average person there nationalism is a very remote concept & only used by a very few - a tiny number of intellectuals - such as a few ex school teachers. For example, they don't call themselves Afghans. If they say Afghan they mean the Pashtoons to the south. When they talk about themselves, they refer to themselves as from which valley they come from - or as Tajik.

CB: Is there divisiveness in Badakhshan - clan rivalries, etc.?

AA: There sometimes are rival commanders but as to clan rivalries & family feuds which are so common among the Pathans - this doesn't apply to the Tajiks. Normally, they don't settle quarrels on their own initiative... They are much more law abiding. You don't find blood feuds as among the Pathans. They regard the Pathans with a fair amount of suspicion. They know the Pathans have gained control over a lot of good land... and they know very well that a lot of people from former governments who were responsible for letting the communists in, if you like, were Pathans ...which, perhaps, creates a certain amount of distrust.

CB: Who are the outstanding military commanders among the Tajiks?

AA: One who has a high reputation is Basir Khan of Yaftal who is always said to fight very successfully against the communists who often attack the southern part of Yaftal from their large base at Faizabad.

Another commander who is highly thought of is Amir Arianpor of Kishm who has had a lot of fighting to do & also suffers a lot of air raids because the lower part of his territory is held by the communists & there they have their base at Kishm, in the lower part of the valley...

I think he's done very well to hold the upper part... Further more, he's a very interesting & intelligent man. I've talked to him several times... He used to be a school teacher.

My experience was in a very small area & all I know about others was what was said & Tajiks, like other Afghans, are liable to say anything & to know what is true & what is not true is an extremely difficult - if not impossible - task.

The morale of the people where I was was good. They seem to be willing to go on indefinitely. They are able to maintain their agriculture at a pretty good level.

Of course it's obvious that if Soviet Russia wanted to win the war at any time they could send in 1/2m men - 1m if they wanted & endless numbers of helicopters & aircraft & win the war any time they wanted to... They could depopulate the whole country - except for the small proportion of communists... The interesting question is, what stops them?

CB: What about the reports of famine?

AA: One very useful project which I should mention is a nutrition survey that we are trying to get going now. It has been reported that in some areas of Afghanistan, the food supply is poor & it has been said that commanders in some districts are more concerned about adequate food both for the civilians & the mujahideen & I think it might be looked into. There is hardly any reliable data at all about the question of nutrition & food supply & I think a determined effort should be made to get reliable information as soon as possible - which now means it probably can't be done until spring. ..I think if we can get people to go collect sound, definite & dependable nutrition data...and the food supply situation, this will be extremely useful. .. If it is shown that there is a food shortage or serious under nutrition or perhaps even famine, as threatened, then we must plan & have ready suitable measures to relieve such a situation.

I know very little about other parts of Afghanistan other than Badakhshan where I did some limited amount of nutrition investigation... I only know what's reported & these reports are always very vague... (The reports) indicate that information should be gathered by reliable people who are using some definite form of measurement. [If you go, Dr. Anderson recommends taking the following: Malaria pills, good footwear, a good horse, good dark glasses, sun hat, sunburn cream, powerful insecticide, anti-diarrhoea medicine & a light, good anti-aircraft gun.]

By FREDERICK KEMPE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—Corruption has become more entrenched in the five-year-old effort by Afghanistan's Moslem tribesmen to rid their country of its Soviet invaders. The extensive corruption wastes much of the growing U.S. assistance to the anti-Soviet guerrillas, feeds instability in Pakistan by providing arms to government opponents, and saps the guerrillas' morale and fighting ability.

Witnesses recount one typical case of corruption that took place this year in a tawdry room in the New Khyber Hotel in this Pakistan town on the Afghanistan border. Slipping sweet tea with three other Afghans seated on a soiled carpet, rebel leader Hasmatullah Mojadedi allegedly agreed to sell arms, provided free by Western and Chinese sources through Pakistani intermediaries, to Abdul Qium, one of many Afghans the guerrillas disparagingly call the "businessmen." (The arms are supposed to be passed to the rebels free of charge and such sales are illegal. Mr. Mojadedi denies he took part in any such sales.)

But the witnesses to the sale say Mr. Qium paid the equivalent of \$5,000 for a Russian 82mm mortar, 35 Chinese AK-47 semiautomatic rifles, five .303 British rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition. Mr. Qium later resold the weapons at a considerable profit to an arms dealer in Teri Mangel, a small village near the Afghan border in tribal territory and thus outside Pakistan government control.

### Major Problem

No one knows if guerrilla leader Mojadedi sold the arms for personal gain or to support his rebel group, but the sale represents a growing problem for the resistance and its supporters.

"This is one of the first problems of the *mujahiddin*," or holy warriors, as the Moslem rebels call themselves, says Abdul Haq, a prominent rebel commander from Kabul, the Afghan capital. His party, the Hezb-i-Islami led by Yunis Khalis, is regarded as one of the least corruption-tainted, but Abdul Haq nonetheless is worried for the resistance as a whole. "We can fight the Russians but the 'businessmen' are very bad for us," he says. "It makes me sick to know we are made weaker by such things."

Some in the U.S. also worry that as Western financial support for the rebels increases radically, diversion will become even worse. U.S. officials note that Washington's covert military aid to the Afghan rebels is being doubled in the 1985 fiscal year, to \$280 million.

Even more worrisome are indications that the worst corruption occurs among the more moderate rebel groups. Though U.S. officials deny they favor any of the Afghan resistance parties based in Peshawar, the moderates maintain for closer ties than the fundamentalists with the West and many of their leaders have plucked exile homes in the U.S. or Britain.

Western diplomats and Pakistani government officials also worry that many of

## Corruption

the illegally sold arms end up in the hands of Pakistani government opponents operating in historically explosive areas, increasing the threat to President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq's martial law government—the U.S.'s leading ally in the region.

But Afghan guerrilla leaders are the most troubled. They say corruption deprives arms to too-honest or too-poor field commanders, and they cite several battles against Soviet forces where this literally proved fatal. They say also that good commanders often are demoralized when they arrive from Afghanistan as heroes to find that the only way they can continue the fight is to pay off Peshawar-based political leaders.

This kind of information also is starting to reach members of the U.S. Congress and private aid organizations, some of whom are calling for more accountability. "A question that has been whispered in private now needs to be shouted in public," says Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey. "Why is only a fraction of aid winding up in the hands of Freedom Fighters? It is tragic that we have no means of accounting for this stuff."

### Arms Siphoned Off?

Some Afghan commanders even argue that Washington should monitor its Pakistani intermediaries more closely. Though no concrete evidence of Pakistani corruption could be found, there is widespread suspicion that the Pakistan government siphons off the best of the weapons intended for the Afghan resistance.

"The Central Intelligence Agency has the responsibility to see that the arms are delivered to those who fight, in the items and quantity they need," says Karen McKay, director of the Washington lobby group, the Committee for a Free Afghanistan. "As far as I can see we have done nothing to get our own verification capability in place."

Most sources agree that there would be less diversion if the aid went to the more fundamentalist Moslem rebel groups. "The fundamentalists have some drawbacks, but they are very disciplined and devoted," says a Pakistani intelligence source. "The Western-educated (and more moderate) class is more corrupt because many of them think what they are doing is in vain so they might as well earn some money to secure their future."

### Corruption Denied

Mr. Mojadedi, the rebel commander who reportedly sold arms in the Peshawar hotel room, denies that he has ever done so or been a party to any other corruption. But two other commanders provide receipts for arms sales bearing his signature. Mr. Mojadedi also denies ever having been in the New Khyber Hotel, but the hotel's Pakistani owner says Mr. Mojadedi has visited the hotel at least a dozen times.

Mr. Mojadedi, like other resistance leaders accused of corruption that were interviewed, says he is the victim of a political campaign orchestrated either by rival

Afghan rebel parties or by Soviet or Afghan government agents.

Officials say Pakistani intelligence has infiltrated all the Afghan political parties and it knows the violators, but it usually responds only by warning individuals involved to stop. The Pakistanis only rarely threaten to withdraw monthly subsidies to the rebel parties that one Afghan guerrilla leader estimates at about \$50,000 a month.

Another reason the Pakistanis don't crack down is that they don't want to highlight their own role as a conduit for arms. To admit that role publicly would further strain relations with the Soviet Union. The weapons usually are Chinese, or Soviet arms bought with Western and Arab money from the Egyptians or Israelis.

The U.S. sympathizes with the Pakistani desire to control the weapons, rationalizing that it is Pakistan that ultimately must pay the consequences for supporting the guerrillas. It also doesn't want to more actively involve Americans, for fear that might prompt the Soviets to escalate the fighting.

The U.S. has ruled out using other routes to get arms and aid to the rebels in Afghanistan, and government sources are skeptical about the chances for stricter monitoring of arms deliveries. But the State Department is said to be making plans to ask private aid organizations in Peshawar to verify that \$2 million in humanitarian aid reaches the right parties.

American officials say cutting off parties engaged in illegal arms deals certainly isn't the answer. The National Islamic Front for the Liberation of Afghanistan, led by Pir Syed Ahmad al-Gailani, is considered by Pakistani intelligence to be one of the most corrupt rebel groups, but also one of the most militarily efficient.

Mr. Gailani, a former Peugeot car dealer in Kabul and a leader of one of Afghanistan's four major Sufi Moslem orders, denies the widespread charges of corruption at the top of his party. He blames much of the corruption that does exist on the guerrillas' lack of supplies. He says they often sell arms, particularly those they capture, to make ends meet.

"If we had enough of the medicine, food or clothing they need, we could be stricter about these sales and collect the captured arms," he says.

No one knows for sure how much of the arms supply goes astray. Andrew Elva, executive director of the Washington lobby group, the Federation for American Afghan Action, estimates that as much as 70% is diverted illegally.

To prove just how available weapons are, a guerrilla commander takes this reporter to a carpet shop in a Peshawar bazaar. The owner arranges arms sales. The weapons are delivered at the Pakistani border town of Miram Shah.

A Soviet rocket-propelled grenade launcher costs the equivalent of \$4,300 and each shell \$50. A Russian AK-47 costs \$1,250, while a Chinese-made AK-47 is \$250 less.

"That is a very good deal on the AK-47s," the shop owner says. Despite high Pakistani inflation, he adds, "there are so many AK-47s around that the price keeps falling."

# US links number of killed to its war aid

EDWARD GIRARDET  
in the Hindu Kush  
mountains, Afghanistan

AFGHAN guerrillas are to be told that their supplies of arms and ammunition from the United States are going to depend on how well they do against Russian troops.

The "aid according to results" scheme is part of a US move to get better value from their support for guerrillas. Officials in Washington feel that a large portion of the estimated US\$1 billion (about HK\$7.8 billion) supplied by the US, Saudi Arabia, China and Pakistan since the Russians invaded — five years ago this week — has been wasted.

The Americans intend to step up their aid: better equipment — including an improved version of the SAM7 portable anti-aircraft missile — is on offer and better training will be given. But with this programme come the "cost-effectiveness" assessments.

The guerrillas will be assessed on the number of successful attacks in which they take part and their willingness to be trained.

US officials would not explain how they would verify the guerrillas' claims of enemies killed, but a State Department official said that their methods "fall short of counting ears, which would be stretching the principles of accounting too far."

The aid — worth US\$280 million (about HK\$2.18 billion) in the year ahead — comes under the heading of "covert help" and no details are being given to how it will get to the guerrillas.

In the past most aid appears to have been funnelled through Peshawar, in Pakistan, where the exiled political parties of Afghanistan are based. The parties have passed the arms and equipment to their fighting forces.

However, the Americans suspect that there has been a lot of waste and they may well bypass the politicians and supply the guerrilla groups directly if the aid does not go where they want.

This has already happened in the case of Mr Rahim Wardak, a former Afghan Army officer, who is one of the most effective guerrillas southwest of Kabul. After relations between the Americans and Mr Wardak's National Islamic Front party became strained, Mr Wardak began receiving aid directly.

The Americans are keeping quiet about which groups are likely to receive most aid, but the other guerrilla groups which are considered the best fighters are those in the Panjshir valley, northeast of Kabul, led by Mr Ahmadshah Masood, those around Herat, under Mr Ismail Khan, and those near Mazar-i-Sharif, led by Mr Zabihullah.

All three leaders are Tajik tribesmen, rather than Pathans, who form the bulk of the refugees. US officials have noted that these commanders have organised their own training inside Afghanistan — intelligence sources say that Mr Zabihullah was trained by Mr Masood — and they have built up a local administration.

The Americans consider that strong leadership of the local population is crucial if the flow of refugees into Pakistan is to be checked; the three million already there are considered a destabilising influence.

Encouraging people to stay in Afghanistan, working productively on farms, might also prevent famine, which is feared in the Badkhashan and Parwan provinces north of Kabul.

The new US strategy is bound to cause tensions among the exiled political parties. There are seven main fighting groups, loosely divided into the Muslim fundamentalists and those who follow a more moderate, traditionally Afghan form of Islam.

Together they control about 90,000 guerrillas, although only 20,000 are estimated to be active at any one time against the 120,000 Soviet troops in the country.

A Saudi-backed attempt to set up a government-in-exile in opposition to Mr Babrak Karmal's regime in Kabul failed this summer because of differences between the moderate and fundamentalist groups, as well as differences within the fundamentalist camp itself.

Increased US support is said to be due in part to recent Pentagon staff changes, particularly in the Office of International Security Affairs and the Office for International Security Policy.

Officials there are said to be "real hawks" on Afghanistan, who argue that increased and more effective guerrilla action could make the country the Soviet Union's Vietnam.

JANUARY 5, 1985

## Festivities paper over split

AFGHANISTAN'S squabbling leaders celebrated 20 years of "two-party communism" this week with festivities barely able to paper over a history of rivalries, gunfights and assassinations.

Coming only a week after the fifth anniversary of Soviet military intervention in Kabul, the birthday of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has received far more propaganda prominence than what is usually described as Moscow's timely and fraternal aid.

Giant posters of President Babrak Karmal appeared in the Afghan capital and commemorative meetings, articles and concerts have been blaring the message of party unity for weeks. Western diplomats said.

While the publicity may have diverted some attention from the issue of the Soviet military presence, it contrasted

During the early days of the occupation, touring with the Afghan resistance usually meant strapping a rucksack to your back and relying on villagers or teahouse for food and lodging. But Soviet military operations have taken their toll. Many areas have become wastelands.

Much of the local population has fled. Food has become scarce and expensive. The cost of animal transport, too, has more than tripled, and in some areas quadrupled, since 1982. Renting packhorses from Pakistan to the Panjshir Valley now costs nearly US\$500 (about HK\$3,900) compared with less than US\$200 (about HK\$1,560) in 1981.

The Nooristanis have gone so far as to establish their own "Islamic state of Afghanistan." With its influence barely extending beyond several valleys, the "state"

appears to be little more than an excuse to create an elaborate, self-serving bureaucracy. It is serving to be far more of an irritant to the Afghan resistance than to the Soviets.

Guerrillas from other parts of the country are required to purchase green Islamic "passports" from the "foreign ministry" in Chitral before being allowed to traverse the region, which they must do in order to supply the northern provinces.

The Nooristanis regularly confiscate weapons as a form of taxation from returning Mujahideen not affiliated with the "state."

Western journalists, too, have run into problems. Shortly after we went through last summer, a visiting French TV team was charged US\$2,000 (about HK\$15,600) for the right of passage. They were held for 10 days and were obliged to leave their passports behind as collateral.

sharply with the deep and persistent divisions that make the PDPA unique among ruling communist parties.

The PDPA is so wracked by internal strife that many Western and Afghan analysts doubt it could rule the country even if Moscow's 115,000 troops destroyed the Muslim guerrilla opposition.

"Communist parties are supposed to be disciplined and unified organisations but the PDPA is officially split right down the middle," said a Kabul intellectual now following Afghan politics from exile in Pakistan.

"No matter what they say about unity these days, the two factions can never get together," he said. "In fact, relations seem to have taken a turn for the worse recently."

The PDPA, formed by 27 Kabul conspirators on January 1, 1965, is officially split into the ruling "Parcham" (flag) and larger but out-of-favour "Khalq" (masses) factions. New recruits must enroll in the faction they prefer, a formality unknown in other communist parties.

Parchamis tend to be educated urban types advocating moderate pro-Moscow policies. Like their leader, Mr Karmal, many come from Afghanistan's top pre-revolutionary families.

The Khalqis, whose power base lies in the Army, are drawn from Afghanistan's eastern and southern Pashtun tribal belt. They favour a more doctrinaire, slightly nationalist brand of communism.

semp 45





Praying for an air drop

## A war for all congressmen

Afghanistan is the right sort of secret war. Its bad guys are incontrovertibly evil, its heroes picturesquely brave, its battleground remote from the United States. For congress, wearied by the moral ambiguities of Nicaragua, Afghanistan seemed a model case for anti-communist action. So in a curious reversal of roles, after cutting off CIA support for the Nicaraguan "contras" last summer, congress pressed extra money for the Afghans into CIA hands. The result is a \$250m Afghan aid budget this fiscal year—more than double what the administration had requested—and, at 10 times the size of the Nicaraguan programme, the biggest covert operation by the CIA since Vietnam days.

Five years after Soviet airborne troops landed in Kabul, the Afghan resistance is enjoying an upsurge of support in Washington that unites the unlikely of bedfellows. A dozen congressmen and senators have recently formed a task force to press the argument that the CIA is mismanaging the aid pipeline and to demand better weapons for the insurgents. The senate group, chaired by Mr Gordon Humphrey, a conservative Republican from New Hampshire, includes three unconservative Democrats: Mr Claiborne Pell, Mr Ernest Hollings and Mr Paul Simon. The house team is a similar mixture of right and left. The task force plans to hold hearings on the funny things that happen to aid on the way to Afghanistan.

In October both chambers of congress unanimously passed a resolution calling for effective support for the Afghans. The sponsor was a retiring liberal senator. Mr Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts. The only opponent of the resolution when it was first introduced was the most liberal of Republicans, Mr Charles Mathias, who

feared it might become another Tonkin Gulf resolution which would give the administration a blank cheque. But the state department also opposed the original Tsongas resolution as too provocative in its call for material assistance; the CIA opposed it too. With the help of allies like Mr Mathias the resolution was watered down and an endorsement of a negotiated settlement added.

In the mood of enthusiasm for what President Reagan recently called the "noble struggle" of the mujaheddin, congress has focused less on America's aims in Afghanistan than on the quantity and quality of arms aid. The only debates have taken place behind closed committee-room doors; and decisions have been taken only by the intelligence committees which, under the Reagan administration, have had exclusive access to reports on CIA covert operations and are responsible for approving CIA budgets. The Afghan programme has stayed mostly secret because of the consensus behind it. CIA activities in Nicaragua might have stayed secret too, but for its whistle-blowing opponents. When Afghan aid makes the news, chances are the CIA is leaking a response to its critics.

The congressional bequests to Afghanistan came to light last summer, the morning after \$50m was inserted into an air force account labelled "other procurement" on the initiative of a Democratic congressman, Mr Charles Wilson of Texas. He had earlier added \$40m to the Afghan aid budget through a secret amendment tacked on to the defence appropriations bill. This amendment provided for boosting the rebels' defences against the Soviet monopoly of air power through the purchase of Swiss-made anti-aircraft guns. They were chosen, over

American-made alternatives, to preserve what is known as "plausible deniability"—the myth cherished by America's frontline ally, Pakistan, that so long as aid to the insurgents is not traceable to the United States, the superpowers will not be seen to be confronting one another in Pakistan's backyard.

This fiction requires that all American-financed supplies be channelled through the Pakistanis and usually also through the insurgents' political offices in Peshawar. The result, critics like Senator Humphrey say, is that between 15% and 80% of the supplies go missing before they reach their proper destination. Recently the CIA has taken a more active role on the ground and is said to be considering delivering arms direct to the fighting men by air drops from across the Chinese border. The Chinese also provide their own aid to the guerrillas, as do the Saudis; non-American aid will add about \$200m to insurgent resources this year, for a total of about \$1 billion.

The rationale for stepping up American aid to the insurgents is not that more and better weapons will enable them to defeat the Russians; only a few zealots, like the former Green Beret who runs the effective Washington lobbying operation, the Federation for American Afghan Action, believe that the war is militarily winnable. Some congressional advocates of increased aid are troubled by the spectre of fighting to the last Afghan. But nobody is now taking this argument to its logical conclusion and calling for an aid cut-off. Nor is anybody insisting very hard that military pressure will drive the Russians to the bargaining table, which is the better case for aid. For the moment, inflicting pain on the Soviet occupiers is its own reward.

Meanwhile, back in Geneva under the aegis of the United Nations, the negotiations sputter on. The Pakistanis and the Soviet-backed Afghan regime are due to "meet" in adjacent rooms again for proximity talks on February 13th. But neither the United States nor the Soviet Union believes the other side's friend is talking seriously, so neither is encouraging its ally to compromise. The plan on the Geneva table for the past 18 months envisages a phased Soviet withdrawal, coinciding with a cessation of foreign aid for the rebels and a return of the 3m refugees now in Pakistan. It makes no provision, however, for replacing the Babrak Karmal regime in Kabul.

The United States remains nominally committed to seeking a negotiated solution based on "self-determination for the Afghan people", which the administration interprets as meaning the replacement of the Karmal regime by something more representative. The official line is that the Karmal regime is bound to fall if Soviet props are removed. But the Americans—and the Saudis and Chinese—are unwilling to wait for the inevitable without a formal pledge from Moscow. Since this is precisely what the Russians want to avoid, the Geneva stalemate continues.



Excerpts from "The Invasion of Afghanistan" by Capt. David F. McDermott in the Jan-Feb issue of INFANTRY:

By mid-December, preparations were almost completed, but Soviet planners wanted to ensure that several strategically important road networks had been secured before they proceeded with the invasion. The principal road net that was essential to the operation's success was the "beltway" extending from Termez across the border into Afghanistan and then southward through the 8,000-foot high Salang Pass to Kabul (see map). From Kabul, this road net stretched westward through Farah and Herat, swinging northward toward Kushka and finally terminating at Mazar-i-Sharif near the Soviet border. To secure these roads, the Soviets dispatched advance elements of airborne units to Afghanistan before the invasion.

On 3 and 4 December the number of Soviet military transport flights into the air base at Bagram tripled. On 8 and 9 December a full strength airborne battalion, reportedly equipped with BMDs and artillery, was airlifted into Bagram. From there, it started to move north to seize and occupy the high ground in the vicinity of the Salang Pass. Simultaneously, several smaller airborne units were airlifted into the Kabul International Airport itself.

On 21 December a Soviet airborne regiment landed at Bagram and secured its hold on the entire airfield. At the same time, up to six ground force divisions were reported to be in place along the Soviet-Afghan border in the Turkestan and Central Asian Military districts.

One final factor had to be dealt with — the Afghan armed forces. At the time, those forces numbered 100,000, most of them assigned to the army. Equipped with 500 T54/55 and 100 T62 tanks, the Afghan Army consisted of ten infantry divisions, three understrength armored divisions, three independent infantry brigades (variously referred to as commando, mountain, or paratroop brigades or regiments), and one artillery brigade, all of which were organized into three corps commands.

The 1st Afghan Corps had its headquarters in Kabul itself while the 2d and 3d Corps were headquartered in Kandahar and Paktia Provinces, respectively. The 10,000-man Afghan Air Force had 170 combat aircraft, mostly older models (35 MIG-21s, 80 MIG-17s, 24 SU-7s, 30 IL-28s, and 45 helicopters of various makes) and one air defense division. To the Soviets, this formidable force, despite its mediocre performance in the field against the Mujahideen, would have to be neutralized quickly and efficiently.

Accounts of the deception measures employed by Soviet advisors to the Afghan Army do much to dispel the conventional stereotype of the Soviet officer as lacking in initiative and imagination. The tactics they employed, in fact, demonstrate a high degree of cunning and resourcefulness. For example, two Afghan armored divisions (one of which was stationed in Kabul) were

disarmed when their Soviet advisors convinced their counterparts in the divisions that it was necessary for them to conduct an inventory of the division's ammunition stocks and antitank weapons. This meant off-loading the ammunition that was stored in the tanks. Additionally, electrical storage batteries "had" to be removed for winterizing while some tanks "had" to be turned over to depot maintenance so that "defects" could be corrected.

It has also been reported that in some units the Soviets persuaded the Afghans to turn in their weapons on the pretext that they were about to be re-equipped with new weapons coming from the Soviet Union. While some Afghan units were confined to their barracks, others, especially those in Kabul, were sent into the countryside to fight the Mujahideen. The coup de grace, however, was a reception the Soviets held in Kabul to honor prominent Afghan army officers; once the reception began, none of these officers were allowed to leave.

The invasion began in full force on 24 December with an airlift of advance parties from the 103d and 104th Airborne Divisions into Bagram. At the same time and continuing through 26 December, a massive airlift of 280 to 300 military transport sorties landed the main body of the 105th Guards Airborne Division at the Kabul International Airport. The round-the-clock airlift primarily involved transport aircraft landing at ten-minute intervals — IL-76 CANDIDs (cargo capacity 90,000 pounds), AN-12 CUBs (cargo capacity 44,000 pounds), and a limited number of AN-22 COCKs (cargo capacity 160,000 pounds). In the latter stages of this airlift, the transports took sporadic sniper fire from rebel-held positions around the Kabul airport, and at least one transport aircraft, an AN-12, crashed on landing because small arms fire had damaged important flight instruments or injured the crew. (All the crewmen died in the crash and the aircraft was left badly damaged with its cockpit burned out.)

A number of IL-76s participating in the airlift had Aeroflot markings even though Aeroflot had officially cancelled regular flights into Kabul until the airlift had peaked. Older-model AN-26 CURLs (cargo capacity 12,100 pounds) assisted the airlift, but only on a restricted basis. Even obsolescent AN-2 biplanes participated, serving as spotter aircraft for MI-24 HIND-D attack helicopters. Once the airlift had tapered off, regular Aeroflot service into Kabul resumed with all of the airline's aircraft bearing the legend "Official Olympic Carrier." Interestingly, the East German airline, *Interflug*, which had not previously conducted flights into Kabul, also participated in the early phases of the airlift. (It has been alleged that this airline, rather than Aeroflot, carried KGB agents from Poland and East Germany into Afghanistan.) For air cover, the airlift into Kabul received air support from MIG-23s based in Karshi and MIG-21s from Kerki, both located in the Soviet Union.

While the 105th Guards Airborne Division was consolidating its hold on the Kabul airport in preparation for a move against vital government centers, four Soviet divi-

sions moved across the Soviet-Afghan border along two major axes. The first echelon consisted of the 360th Motorized Rifle Division (MRD) and the 357th MRD; while the 201st MRD and the 66th MRD were in the second echelon. The 360th and 201st MRDs crossed from Termez into Afghanistan using a pontoon bridge built across the Amu Darya River. Capturing the airbases at Mazar-i-Sharif and Kunduz, they moved toward Kabul with the mission of linking up with the paratroopers who had moved north from Kabul earlier to secure the Salang Pass and the tunnel through which these divisions had to move. The 357th and 66th MRDs crossed the border at Kushka and occupied the Shindad and Herat airbases. The fact that both echelons consisted of only two divisions was probably the result of a restricted road net that could not accommodate a broader deployment.

The Afghan Army put up only sporadic resistance to these invading forces. Most of the Afghan Air Force, however, defected to the Soviets, and by early January 1980 Afghan pilots were flying training missions under Soviet ground control. The most notable anti-Soviet resistance on the part of the Afghan Army was that by the 8th Infantry Division, which successfully fought the Soviet forces until 5 January 1980, during which time it suffered 2,000 killed. For the most part, though, the Afghan Army suffered mass desertions, many to go home, others to the Mujahideen with their weapons and equipment. On 10 January 1980 this wave of desertions peaked when an entire Afghan division joined the rebels in Kandahar.

## AIRLIFT COMPLETE

By 27 December the Soviet airlift into Kabul was virtually complete with two full regiments belonging to the 105th Guards Airborne Division plus support units deployed on the ground, a total of 5,000 men. That evening, Soviet paratroopers equipped with BMD airborne infantry fighting vehicles and backed by ASU-85 85mm air-transportable armored self-propelled assault guns moved into Kabul itself to secure critical points in the city. Other airborne units, similarly equipped, moved to surround the Darulaman Palace. At Paputin's insistence, Amin had withdrawn here a few days earlier along with trusted aides and some of his bodyguards.

The Soviet assault on the presidential palace and Amin's subsequent death have raised many interesting questions about that evening in Kabul. Apparently, the Soviet forces in Kabul had the mission of deposing Amin and installing Karmal, who had been in exile in Czechoslovakia following Taraki's death, as the new president. Before the assault, Paputin once again met with Amin to try to persuade him either to step down from power or to issue a formal request for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. What immediately followed is still unclear. Apparently, Amin refused to do either, and during the ensuing argument one of his bodyguards shot

and killed Paputin. At 1930 on 27 December, Soviet troops began their attack on the palace, which was defended by an Afghan tank regiment.

Although most reports say that Soviet paratroopers participated in the action, one source, based on defector reports, tells a different story. According to this version, Soviet *Spetsnaz* troops led by a specially trained KGB assault group stormed the palace. This KGB unit, disguised in Afghan army uniforms and equipped with military vehicles bearing Afghan markings, killed Amin, his family, and several of his most important advisors. But during the confusion of the attack, the Soviet commander of this unit, a Colonel Bayerenov, the head of the KGB's terrorist training school, was inadvertently shot and killed by his own troops.

The exact nature of the role of Soviet Central Asian troops during the invasion of Afghanistan has been a matter of controversy for some time. One source has stated that these troops (primarily Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Turkomans) formed the bulk of the invasion force, although the officers involved were overwhelmingly European Soviets. If this is true, then as another report notes, the use of soldiers with the same ethnic, cultural, and religious ties as the target population represented a departure from past Soviet political-military policy. (Such a policy has attempted to avoid the use of non-Russian soldiers in operations designed to project Soviet power abroad in situations where they might have some type of rapport with the population of the invaded nation.)

The same report concludes that Central Asians were deployed to Afghanistan for three primary reasons: Since Central Asians generally man construction and support units in the Soviet Army, their presence in the military districts where the divisions were mobilized provided Soviet planners with a readily available manpower resource base, particularly for the establishment of a logistics and support infrastructure in Afghanistan; ethnic Slavic troops were not readily available to fill out understrength units mobilized in the Central Asian military districts; and the use of Central Asian troops may have been a propaganda ploy to weaken grass-roots resistance among the Afghan population.

As a propaganda ploy, the use of Central Asian troops was a failure since many of them openly fraternized with Afghan civilians. Many European-officered Soviet units manned by Central Asian troops had severe disciplinary problems. One incident, an extreme one at that, states that during January 1980 "all the personnel of a Soviet combat brigade [sic] were executed for refusing to fight fellow Moslems in Afghanistan."

The performance of Soviet Central Asian troops in Afghanistan has led to apprehension within Soviet leadership ranks that pro-Afghan, fundamentalist Islamic, nationalistic, and anti-Soviet ideologies could spread into the Soviet Union itself. For this reason, and the fact that the initial logistical support effort had been completed, most of the Central Asian troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan by February 1980.

From the editor:

The period of this Forum covers the 20th anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, increasing accusations of border incursions by both the DRA & Pakistan, some of the heaviest winter fighting since 1979, an announced increase in American support for the mujahideen & the formation of a Congressional task force to look into the Afghan aid situation.

Most of this was overlooked by the American press. Bakhtar, as usual, waxed eloquent & the Pakistan Times was not far behind.

Babrak's address to the faithful at the 20th anniversary celebrations runs to 30 typewritten, single-spaced pages (in English translation). Readers wanting a copy should send \$1 for postage & handling (no budget, remember?) to the Afghanistan Mission to the United Nations, 866 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

It's counting time: The West counts costs & Soviet troops; the mujahideen count captured equipment & the dead; the Soviet Union counts journalists & imperialists; the DRA counts everything, constantly. This issue is packed with numbers, all products of fertile minds. We were thinking of awarding some prizes for the best numbers, but we couldn't decide on how many.

The Forum sends Nawroz greetings to its readers & would also like to remind them that the deadline for the next issue is 4/15. Tell us what you are doing.

Mary Ann Siegfried  
Editor & typist

## CONFERENCES & MEETINGS

"Afghanistan: Five Years After" was the topic of a seminar for teachers held on 1/29 at the University of Pennsylvania. It was sponsored by Penn's Middle East Center & the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia. The Center prepared material, including an extensive film list, useful for teachers. Many of the films are available from the Center. Write them, The Middle East Center, 839 Williams Hall CU, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 19101 (215-898-6335), for information about the films & other seminars they may be planning.

The film series, "Afghanistan: Faces of Change," made in 1974 by Nancy & Louis Dupree for AUFS, will be shown at the University of Pennsylvania in March. The Middle East Center, Religious Studies & the South Asia Regional Studies Center are sponsoring the films which will be part of a series on the Islamic world. The films will be shown on Tuesdays (3/12, 3/19 & 3/26) at 4 p.m. in the 4th floor lounge of Williams Hall at 33rd & Spruce Streets in Philadelphia.

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Louis Dupree will lecture on "Afghanistan: Yesterday & Today" for the Institute for Asian Studies on Thursday, May 30 at 8 p.m. The program will be held in the lecture room of St. Peter's Church, Lexington Avenue @ 54th Street, NYC. Registration is \$10. For more information, call the Institute at 212-535-7496.

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"Fünf Jahre afghanische Flüchtlinge" was the topic of an int'l symposium der Otto Benecke Stiftung on 12/12-13 in Bonn. Participants included Ludwig Adamec, Tom Barnes (UNHCR), S.B. Majrooh, Alfred Janata, Frances d'Souza, Rolf Bindig, Louis Dupree, F.E. Schnapp, Said Mussa Saminy & Rawan Farhadi.

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"The Soviet Union & Its Muslim Neighbors" is the topic of a conference at the University of Michigan on 3/16-17. It is co-sponsored by the Center for Russian & East European Studies & the Center for Near Eastern & North African Studies.

Continued from p. 8

The accounts of White and Vergos during visits to Bangkok last week indicated that more than five years after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, they face growing problems in trying to crush the Moslem guerrillas and build up the Moscow-installed government of Babrak Karmal.

The *mujaheddin* long have been reported to have effective control of the countryside, with the Soviets' estimated 115,000 occupation troops dominating the cities and major roads. But the descriptions by White and Vergos of such a tenuous grip on the two largest cities after the capital, Kabul, point to potentially serious problems for the Soviets and their Afghan government proteges.

Afghan guerrilla leaders interviewed across the Pakistani border in Peshawar earlier this month said the fighting in Kandahar had been the fiercest of any winter since the Soviet invasion in 1979. Although the leaders said they were in control of most of Kandahar province, the resistance forces have been hampered by several factors.

Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, who heads the fundamentalist Hizbi Islami group that has units fighting in Kandahar, said the Soviets are shifting their attacks from the central provinces to border provinces such as Kandahar. Their air raids, he said, have been disrupting the flow of food, ammunition and—most important now—warm clothing.

The photographers described extensive Soviet air operations, including almost daily strikes on Kandahar and surrounding villages by bombers and helicopters, as the Soviets appear to rely increasingly on their unmatched air power. Despite reports of an increasing flow of arms to the guerrillas from foreign donors, the guerrillas still lack sufficient antiaircraft weapons with which to resist the Soviet air strikes, the photographers said.

White said he left for Afghanistan from neighboring Pakistan with a convoy of eight jeeps in which the *mujaheddin* were carrying arms, ammunition and other supplies into the Kandahar area. He said that while they drove mostly at night through the desert, switching off headlights when approaching government posts, they occasionally—to his surprise—used main roads without incident.

In the countryside, armed *mujaheddin* even traveled freely on public buses carrying their Kalashnikov rifles, White said.

On entering Kandahar, White said, he found normal day-to-day activities in the city's bazaar area, with shops selling flat loaves of Afghan bread, meat, fruit, vegetables and other items, while armed guerrillas walked around casually.

Outside one tea shop, White said, an Afghan was cleaning a light machine gun. He said that when he asked the guerrillas what would happen if a patrol of Soviet or Afghan soldiers came into the bazaar, the *mujaheddin* laughed at what they regarded as a naive question.

"They don't, because they would be captured or killed," he quoted Mullah Mohammed Zay, a local commander from the Jamiat-i-Islami guerrilla organization, as saying.

White said that on another occasion, a guerrilla commander pointed to a government post in the western part of Kandahar from about 100 yards away and told him, "Two meters on each side belongs to the post. The rest belongs to the *mujaheddin*."

White said he was told there are about 30 posts in the city manned by government troops and an Afghan Army garrison on the northwestern edge of the city, but that Soviet forces were concentrated at the airport, about seven miles southeast of Kandahar.

From there, he said, the Soviets mounted almost daily air strikes in and around the city, using jets and helicopter gunships.

"The day I went into the bazaar, two helicopter gunships were firing into the city," White said. He said *mujaheddin* also told him the Soviets often fired barrages from rocket launchers into Kandahar. During the air strikes, he said, the Afghan government posts fire flares into the air to mark their positions and avoid being hit.

"Every day I was in the city there was bombardment," White said.

White said he was told that the population of Kandahar, formerly about 150,000, was now down to 10,000 to 20,000, most of the inhabitants having fled to Pakistan as refugees. While life went on fairly normally in some areas, like the bazaar, he said, other neighborhoods of Kandahar were deserted and many shops in the city were closed.

The photographer said that whenever he asked guerrilla commanders about American aid, the

usual reply was, "Where is it?" He said the *mujaheddin* repeatedly stressed that they had nothing effective with which to combat the Soviet air attacks.

White said the guerrillas can move fairly freely in the parts of the city he visited, adding that the Afghan troops are largely confined to their posts and must be resupplied by heavily armed convoys and sometimes by air. In the countryside around Kandahar, he said, the Soviets also must travel in big convoys and often cross open deserts to avoid *mujaheddin* ambushes on the main roads.

Although White's account of normal food sales in the Kandahar bazaar seems at odds with the description by rebels in Peshawar and Afghan exiles arriving in New Delhi, it is possible that food supplies are reaching the large cities but not the rural areas, according to western diplomats in the Afghanist capital of Kabul.

Reports received from Kandahar's rural areas and passed on by the resistance in Peshawar say that the Soviet and Afghan Army's air attacks have seriously disrupted the economy in those areas.

They say armored units attack a village, shoot cattle, burn crops and foodstores and tear up terraced fields. Then, the exiles say, the Army plants explosive charges in the underground irrigation channels dug in the hillsides and leading to the fields, or bombs the surface irrigation ditches.

In Herat, according to French photographer Vergos, guerrillas led by Ismail Khan, a former Afghan Army officer, held similar sway, and government forces were bitterly divided between the rival communist Parcham and Khalq factions that make up the Babrak government in Kabul.

The Afghan Army continues to be riddled by defections, Vergos said. In one incident while he was in Herat, he said, an Afghan Army officer arranged with the *mujaheddin* to defect with a tank, and one day drove it out of his garrison and headed for a guerrilla zone. Government forces tried to recover the tank, but could not find it, Vergos said.

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*Washington Post* correspondent William Claiborne, who was in Peshawar recently, contributed to this story from New Delhi.

## Afghanistan needs help against Soviet holocaust

It is now four and a half dark years that the people and land of Afghanistan have been on fire — and I mean literally burning — under the Soviet holocaust.

In 1979 Soviet military forces invaded Afghanistan and brutally destroyed three successive governments within a short period. Finally, with communist tactics, they set up a puppet government supported by 100,500 Soviet troops, 6,000 tanks, 500 gunship helicopters, jets and other modern weapons.

The invaders since then have been carrying on a barbaric, unlawful war against people whom they had called friends and good neighbors for centuries. During the many months of invasion the Soviets have destroyed houses, villages, holy places of worship, markets, crops and, most important, the 2000-year-old heritage of the Afghan people.

THEY HAVE USED the most modern conventional weapons, including poisonous chemicals, to transform Afghanistan into a bloody ocean on which the oppressed people float. Soviet helicopter gunships continuously destroy buildings and burn the crops. Booby-trapped toys kill children and mines maim civilians. According to reliable diplomatic sources, more than 6,000,000 Afghans have left their homeland and are now scattered over the world as refugees. Over 200,000 have been killed and countless others tortured, jailed or transported to unknown places in Russia.

Other reports from diplomatic and journalistic sources explain how the Soviet invaders are robbing Afghanistan every day of its natural resources. For example, hydroelectric power grids and the natural gas pipelines of northern areas have been linked to those of Soviet Central Asia. Copper, iron ore, precious stones, and other minerals are being rapidly shipped to the U.S.S.R. without any payment or exchange.

The Soviets are working vigorously to turn Afghanistan into a colony of the U.S.S.R. A British political analyst reports that about 15,000 Afghans are in the Soviet Union for civil service training, and 5,000 children are sent to camps there every year. All schools, colleges, universities and traditional centers of Arabic, English, French and German languages have been closed indefinitely all over Afghanistan. Instead, special centers have been established for learning the Russian language and studying communism, thus changing totally the system of Afghan education.

It seems obvious that the Kremlin dictators intend to incorporate Afghanistan into their totalitarian empire to be within easier striking distance of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

On 5/23 Nazari wrote about Panjsher in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Excerpts follow:

Panjsher (five lions) is at the crossroads of northeastern and central Afghanistan. It is about 60 miles from Kabul. Its length is about 70 miles and it is about two miles wide, having several sub-valleys on both sides. The valley has a population of 40,000 to 50,000. In the Panjsher Valley, gardens, orchards and mulberry groves are full of delicious fruits, which constitute most of the wealth of the valley's inhabitants. Its dried fruits are famous, especially the mulberries, almonds, and nuts. The wealth of the Panjsher Valley has been tremendously increased by the recent discovery of a precious stone (emerald). It is in the hands of Mujahideen, and they

exchange the stone for their weapons in foreign markets.

In spring the Panjsher Valley is most beautiful, with a pleasant climate and colorful scenery. In summer the land is fertile and the pastures are green for cattle. Farmers arrange land into small patches so that every inch of it is used. In winter, especially during cold waves, the temperature sometimes falls to 22 degrees below zero. The residents of the Panjsher Valley, like the inhabitants of other remote areas in Afghanistan, are of pure, Aryan type — tall, slim, mostly with blue eyes and blond hair.

The valley is the home of the most warlike and brave Afghan tribes, which have played a very important role in the

NOTWITHSTANDING ALL THESE unjust activities and recently renewed attacks, the Soviet Union will never succeed in conquering the freedom-loving and faithful Islamic people of Afghanistan. They will not be subjugated to communist power; nor will heroic Afghans be converted to the faithless communism the Soviets have tried to root among them for the last 20 years.

It is time for all free and democratic people to act as a strong fire brigade, reaching out to Afghanistan to extinguish the Soviet fire. That fire is an international problem that grows worse and worse. It demands prompt attention from the United States, the United Nations, and all the Islamic countries in particular.

All Afghans are hoping that the United States will take effective steps to support the Afghan freedom fighters. One such step would be to assist in the establishment of an Afghan government in exile supported by the United States and other democratic countries.

The United Nations also must do all it can to put an end to the continuing Soviet killing of innocent Afghan civilians and the robbing of Afghanistan's valuable resources. Simultaneously, the United Nations must continue effective steps for a political settlement. This must not take years to happen.

A third necessary step is strong, concerted protest against the Soviet invasion by all Islamic nations. Such protest is righteous and legitimate, as Soviet communist elements have no place in the faithful and religious land of the Afghans, attempting to convert people by force to a system they do not want.

All Afghans inside or outside their country are well aware that the key to victory against Soviet power is unification among all Afghan people. It is a historic fact that whenever a doomsday deadline has approached, Afghan forces have united under one flag and one leader to eliminate their common enemy. It is that time now, and the Afghan people are ready to gain freedom and democracy.

(Rahmattullah Nazari came to St. Louis from Afghanistan to study in 1969. He holds a Ph.D. in education and administration and works in the city school system. He is a former chairman of the St. Louis-Kabul sister cities program and currently is vice president of the Afghanistan Society of Greater St. Louis.)

Independence of the country and its culture. Panjsher Valley has continuously produced many remarkable intellectuals, poets, writers, politicians and administrators, serving the public forces of Afghanistan. The people of Panjsher have a strong sense of nationalism. They have stood firm for independence and have sacrificed lives and wealth.

Because of such courageous Afghans, the Soviet dream of expanding communism in Afghanistan and/or becoming a military force in the Persian Gulf will not become a reality. However, the world should also clearly and effectively understand that this is a universal fight for which Afghanistan needs international practical aid, not only sympathy.

## AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PESHAWAR

While Afghan refugees are not a hot news item in this country, most newspaper-reading Americans are aware that there are between two & three million in Pakistan, perhaps one million in Iran, & quite a few wandering around elsewhere in the world. Upon my arrival in Peshawar some 18 months ago, I was struck by the large number of refugee families living in the city itself.

No one knows exactly how many of these "urban" refugees live in Peshawar. My estimate is about 60,000, but this number is impossible to verify because the Commissioner for Afghan Refugees sometime in 1982 ceased registering those who refused to go to camps. Peshawar is hard-pressed to cope with this rapid increase in its population and the reasons for dissuading Afghans from settling there are understandable. The high visibility of Afghans in the city has given rise to complaints of rising rents, jobs being taken from locals, drug trafficking & other nefarious activities reputedly being indulged in by Afghans, and so on. As a result, the Pakistan Government has initiated a program which appears to have as its goal the removal of all Afghans from Peshawar. The first step of the program, the ordering of all non-married male refugees out of the city, was put into effect during the summer of 1984. According to the District Commissioner for Afghan Refugees (NWFP), this program was to be limited to male, unmarried Afghans who were not employed. My own observations during the summer and fall & a recent report from Dr. Zabiullah Mojaddidi suggest that, on occasion, even married & employed Afghans have been told to leave the city.

In all fairness to the Government of Pakistan & especially to the Commissioner for Afghan Refugees & his crew, there are serious problems in Peshawar which undoubtedly are caused by the refugees. And there are clear indications that these problems will increase if more programs are not devoted to the special situation of the urban refugees. But the point is that many of these urban refugees are special & thus a program designed to remove them to refugee camps gives cause for concern.

While in Peshawar I interviewed over 800 heads of urban refugee families. One of the objectives of this research was to isolate characteristics common to those who had chosen to settle in the city, where they received no financial support, compared to those who live in the camps. I would like to mention just a few of the reasons why moving urban refugees to the existing camps might create more problems than it could possibly solve.

As one would expect, there is a considerable number of highly educated, professional Afghans in the city. Quite a few of these people have found jobs - often with the Resistance Parties, but also with voluntary agencies, in schools, etc. For many of these educated Afghans, refugee camp living would not only be physically & emotionally difficult, but dangerous as well. Take the example of one educated young man employed by a voluntary agency to collect data in one of the camps. About the second day in the camp he was approached by one of the residents, accused of having been one of the "intellectuals" responsible for the Soviet invasion, & told never to return if he valued his life. This individual was much too young to have been involved in the internal political machinations in Afghanistan. There are, however, many in Peshawar who were involved and one can only imagine what difficulties they would face in the camps.

Another problem group is composed of those who not only are educated, but who left Afghanistan only recently. Studies show that in most forced migrations there exists a spirit of alienation between those who left early & those who left late.

Those who left early are suspicious of late-comers, particularly when those late-comers are educated professionals. How, for example, could one remain lecturing at Kabul University or working in the Ministry of Justice if one was not in cahoots with the Kabul government? The usual conclusion reached is that these people are in Peshawar as KHAD agents - not a popular form of employment in city or camp. In the city, however, late-comers are better able to find residences away from other refugees, a kind of "out-of-sight, out-of-mind" behavior.

Lack of political enthusiasm is another characteristic shared by many of the urban refugees. While many Afghans are in the city specifically because they are active in one of the Resistance Parties (witness the heavy concentration of Gailani's followers in a half-kilometer radius of his home), many are there because they do not wish to be associated with any of the Parties. Again, a low profile is easier to maintain in the city than in the camps. On one occasion I was told by a non-political type that his life had been threatened because he refused to join in the activities of one of the Parties. This individual was counting on the fact that since he lived in a densely populated part of Peshawar, they would not be able to find him. In a camp, it would have been impossible to hide his whereabouts.

I have mentioned here just a few of the more obvious reasons why it might be disastrous to remove many of the urban refugees to existing refugee camps. The general attitude of most of those providing programs for Afghan refugees is to ignore the urban ones hoping, as one official said, that "they will go away." But - go away to where? Surely people who are prepared & willing to support themselves & their families should be given the chance.

Kerry Connor Shroder  
University of Nebraska

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Jan Goodwin, in the February issue of the LADIES HOME JOURNAL, writes about the life of an educated woman in a refugee camp. Excerpts follow:

**W**e sat cross-legged on the dirt floor of the simple one-room mud house. Her clothes were tattered, patched and muddied. As we talked, biting insects bloodied my arms and legs; a chicken that had been scratching in the corner hopped onto my notebook before exiting from a window with neither glass nor shutters.

Despite the desperate poverty of Sameen's life, there was grace and dignity to her every movement. Her slim, tall figure made her seem more like a model than the peasant her garb suggested. As she prepared tea for me, she laced it with honey she could ill afford and I didn't want, but she did it anyway. It was a gesture of hospitality, and Sameen had nothing else to offer a guest.

"I was not like this before the war," said Sameen, twenty-six, brushing her purple tunic with her hand as if to rub off the dust. "I wore Western clothes, had my hair styled regularly. Now look at me. Today I live in purdah—I cannot go out and unless I am covered by a veil. Before, we had a beautiful house, and

now..." Her voice trails off, and my eyes follow hers around the empty room, with its cracked and flaking mud walls. "Here there is no electricity, no bathroom or running water, no kitchen, just an outside cooking fire." There is also no furniture in the room, unless one counts the rolls of bedding Sameen has arranged against the walls for guests to lean against. "I miss my books," Sameen, who has a bachelor of science degree, says quietly. "But more than wanting books for me, I want

them for my children. I want my children to have an education; I want them to have a future."

Sameen not only was torn from a life that had been good to her, and from aging parents she adored but who were too frail to travel, but also was plunged into the world of purdah, an anachronistic existence that she still hasn't come to terms with. Purdah literally means "behind the curtain"; it is a world of seclusion from men other than one's husband; it is a world viewed from behind a veil, all too often an all-enveloping *chador*, a garment that makes women resemble small, mobile tents. For Sameen, purdah meant giving up her twentieth-century lifestyle, with its freedom of choice, for a subservient, restrictive one in which even a visit to a friend or the market requires permission. Afghanistan is Muslim, and like much of the Christian world, it is undergoing a return to traditional values, in some cases to fundamentalism. By pure luck of the draw, the camp to which Sameen and the members of her family were relocated is a strictly fundamentalist one ruled by mullahs, Muslim priests who interpret the Koran quite rigidly.



She was prepared for hardships, but she was also expecting freedom—freedom from fear, freedom from restriction. Unfortunately, she would find neither at the camp. "Living in purdah is difficult for me," said Sameen, who before the war had enjoyed an equality she rarely questioned. "Perhaps if you are born to it, it is easier, but I wasn't. Even the little everyday things like fetching water are more difficult. The path to the well is very steep and I've fallen many times. Wearing a veil, I cannot see properly.

"There are also many things I can no longer do. Last year, for example, I tried to start a school here. Our camp doesn't have one, and I wanted my children to be able to read and write. [Sameen's third child, Javaid, was born in the camp two years ago.] I also thought it would be a way of putting my education to good use." No sooner had Sameen started the school than the outraged mullahs closed it down—Islamic fundamentalism forbids women to work or girls to be educated. For several months, Sameen and her family were ostracized by the other refugees.

The camp that is home to them and fifteen thousand others is set in a wasteland that local people have never

been able to farm. Long-term residents are housed in adobe homes identical to Sameen's, newcomers live in tents. Both are equally sweltering in Pakistan's heat and humidity. When kerosene supplies are interrupted, as they often are, refugees must cook with firewood, which is in short supply. Young children must often walk five to six miles a day in the deforested area in search of enough twigs to cook the one meal a day on which most families exist. Water, too, is often in short supply, particularly in the summer when wells run dry. The water allocation is supposed to be twenty liters per person, but it is rarely that much because there is a shortage of water tankers to distribute it. And twenty liters for all your needs—to drink, cook, bathe and do laundry—is soon put into perspective when you realize that fifteen liters of water are expended every time a toilet in America is flushed.

Not surprisingly, health problems and sickness in the camps can be severe. Cholera and typhoid outbreaks occur occasionally. Tuberculosis is common, as are malaria and dysentery, and young children frequently die from malnutrition and gastrointestinal problems.

## Give- A-Child- A-Future Fund

**A**n education is the only hope for Sameen's children and thousands of other Afghan refugee youngsters. And with the training to be teachers, women like Sameen will also be able to move their families out of the refugee camps. But first they need schools.

Your contribution can make this happen. The *Journal* is asking you to donate ONE DOLLAR to build a child a tomorrow. This money will be turned over to the International Rescue Committee, a worldwide relief organization, which will use your donations to establish desperately needed schools for Afghan children. Send your check or money order to: *LHJ* Schools, Dept A, Palm Coast, FL 32037.

### NEW VIDEOTAPES

**A NATION UPROOTED: AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN**, a one-hour video tape, documents Afghan refugees trying to preserve their culture in Pakistan. Afghan artists & craftsmen tell of their efforts to carry on their traditions, their traumatic journeys into exile, & their hopes for the future. The tape also has rare footage on Afghan women. The tape is available, on 3/4 or 1/2 inch stock, from Denker/Mann Productions, 3006 SE Tibbetts, Portland, OR 97202 (503-233-1694), for \$695. Anyone ordering a copy before 3/15 will receive a 10% discount.

The tape will be shown on Portland's public TV station, KOAP, on 3/24.

**THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS** is a 15-minute tape showing freedom fighters in camps in Pakistan & fighting in Afghanistan. Made by Rafi Ameer, the tape is available on all sizes of video tape. Rafi plans to donate any money made on the tape, after expenses (which he is still trying to recoup) to the mujahideen. He hopes the tape can be used for fund raising or in schools to let students know about Afghanistan. For information, write Rafi Ameer, P.O. Box 2979, Rockefeller Station, New York, NY 10185

### Afghan Refugees: kerosene

On October 17 and 31 respectively, the Governments of Kuwait and of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia informed UNHCR of their intention to donate kerosene for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The Saudi Arabian contribution of 20 million litres together with 2.5 million litres from Kuwait is expected to cover the domestic fuel requirements of 94,000 refugee families for 1985. These contributions will help to reduce UNHCR expenditure for kerosene which totaled US\$ 13 million in 1984 and was the largest single item in the refugee assistance budget for Pakistan.

## MATERNAL-CHILD HEALTH (MCH)

The following is extracted from a field report of January-February 1984 by Barbara Fink, R.N., Assistant Medical Director of the Int'l Rescue Committee's Medical Assistance Program for Afghan Refugees in the Kohat District of the NWFP:

The current MCH program is well conceived & has a solid base for an effective program. The concept of a separate tent for Lady Health Visitors (LHV's) is a most important factor & frees the LHV's from being simply "handmaidens" to the physicians. To be most effective, especially in this culture, they must remain autonomous units. In their own tent the refugee women's attitudes are different; their chadors & burqa come off and their faces once again appear. They are much freer to talk & listen & take an active role in their & their children's health. A separate tent also gives the LHV space for health education. Teaching small groups of 5 - 10 women is more effective; the women can discuss among themselves & visual aids can be used.

A new statistics system gives valuable information on attendance, & a recent change in the immunization program (from a mobile unit to the clinic site) has been a positive step. Many mothers bring their children solely for immunizations. First they are given Road-to-Health cards, weighed and the mothers are given some health nutrition education. There are some problems with the immunizers regarding technique & dosages but these are being overcome.

The Road-to-Health card given to every child serves as a record of the child's growth, immunizations, illnesses & treatment. Every child is weighed every month.

The approach to the treatment of malnutrition in the under-five's that has been started is also a positive point. Treating malnutrition is difficult & frustrating. Here, the food that is available locally is emphasized; no special rations are given away except high protein biscuits. Mothers are instructed to bring their own egg, bananas or dried milk and are then taught how, what & how often to feed their children. I am appalled at the number of baby bottles & pacifiers here. Thanks to the nearby bazaar, anyone can buy one for a mere 15 rupees. The bottles are filthy and often the formula is too dilute so the baby does not get enough calories & is malnourished. Often mothers do not start supplementary feeding at 6 months & breast feed only until 1 - 2 years. Both of these causes of malnutrition can be prevented by proper health education by the LHVs. Malnourished children are listed in a Special Care Register and followed closely. They are encouraged to return to the clinic every one or two days at first, then every week.

Preventive health information needs to be expanded in the camps. This concept is a hard one for the refugees to accept. They have been accustomed to receiving medicines for every ache & pain and this is proving to be a hard attitude to change. On a recent home visit in Doaba Camp, we were surrounded by 6 women & their children all demanding medicine. They were not interested in our health talk about latrines, immunizations, hygiene & nutrition. Refugees still accuse the staff of selling their drug ration & getting rich. This is disheartening. Presently home visits are done at random, mostly aimed at the houses of children under special care. The LHV's go when the clinics are quiet. We shall attempt to recruit female clinic assistants to help the LHVs.

Another area of concern is women's health. Antenatal attendance is very erratic. Many women come once, are registered & then never return. I'm sure many pregnant women are never seen. Some women won't even allow LHVs to examine them. Occasionally the LHVs are called for difficult deliveries, but we are in the camps a limited number of hours, five days per week. The women are not well prepared for their

deliveries. Many have not thought about who will help them deliver; mostly it is an older female family member with no special training. Some say that every clan has its own traditional midwife. To find them & upgrade their skills would greatly improve the health status of women. So far none of them have stepped forward to work with us, probably because of opposition from the men who don't want their women roaming around the camp. It is also an insult to have your wife employed; it means the husband cannot adequately support the family.

The camps themselves are not easily conducive to public health work. Often it is difficult to find a certain family. No one knows the real number of people or who lives where. Some of the refugees, depending on the tribe, are friendly & welcoming, while others are hostile & threatening.

The 5 areas of concern for the MCH are better immunization coverage, better acceptance for antenatal clinics, a more accurate assessment of nutritional status, education, & more effective management of malnutrition. To accomplish our goals we first need a stable LHV staff to provide more adequate coverage, especially home visits. Then, Inshallah, we can recruit clinic assistants & traditional midwives.

(See Kabul chronology 12/29)

Barbara Fink  
Kohat, Pakistan

The high infant mortality rate among Afghan refugees is the subject of an article in REFUGEES, December 1984. Excerpts follow:

Out of every 1,000 children who are born in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, 156 die in the first year of life, while another 225 die before reaching the age of five. This mortality rate is one of the highest the world over. Moreover, child-birth-related deaths among mothers are running at a world record level: an average of 1,176 mothers die per 100,000 births.

A 1983 study on the socio-economic, nutritional and medical status of the Afghan refugees found very high rates of infant mortality and malnutrition. However, methodological problems in the survey cast some doubt on the reliability of the survey findings. A decision was thus taken in 1984 to carry out a more thorough study.

The study began with the selection of 1,512 refugee families that were felt to be representative, located in camps both in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan. Subsequently, medical assistants visited each of these families in April and May of this year to interview the women in their native language, Pashtoon. Thanks to this direct contact, the medical assistants were able to draw up an accurate list of the number of pregnancies and births at term for each of the women and to determine the infant mortality rate.

Although the findings of this new survey show a situation less critical than the preceding one did, they still give rise to considerable concern. In

addition, they also contain one major surprise: the malnutrition rate was quite low. As the CDC directors put it, "there was an apparent contradiction between the nutritional level of the refugee children, generally thought to be sufficient, and the mortality rates, which were relatively high". For example, in Baluchistan, only 4% of all refugee children aged 0-5 suffered from acute malnutrition. Despite overcrowding, hygiene conditions in the camps are generally acceptable: fortunately, no serious epidemic has as yet broken out among the Afghan refugees.

Nevertheless, illness does seem to be the culprit, even though it has not yet reached the epidemic level. In June 1984, the World Health Organization (WHO) announced that tuberculosis had attained a critical level in the refugee camps over the past few months, especially among the children. Some 25-30% of all refugee children were suffering from tuberculosis, as against 13% among the Pakistani children.

According to the CDC researchers, the high rate of infant mortality can be traced to four major illnesses. (However, in 62% of all cases, the mothers surveyed were unable to provide precise information). Out of 77 children's deaths for which the researchers were able to isolate the causes, these four diseases were, by order of importance: diarrhoea (64%), malaria (13%), measles (13%), and, especially among newborn babies, tetanus (10%). Given

the relatively small share of cases as compared with the total number of women surveyed, there was, however, insufficient data to identify the major causes of mothers' mortality during or after childbirth.

The CDC experts felt that many of the deaths of babies and small children could have easily been avoided. In particular, the lives of children suffering from diarrhoea could have been saved if the children had been given rehydration salts in time. These salts, available in small individual packets, can be found everywhere, both in the health centres within each refugee camp and on the market. Moreover, vaccination could have prevented deaths caused by tetanus and measles.

The survey authors concluded that "reinforcing social service centres, especially with respect to preventive medicine (vaccination, checkups in case of diarrhoea, rehydration therapy, prenatal and postnatal care) could have a dramatic effect on mortality". In fact, in their opinion, this would be "the most effective means of reducing the mortality rate among the refugees".

Priority should be given to increased vaccination of newborn babies and girls, and to the introduction of diarrhoea checkups and the distribution of rehydration salts on a large-scale basis. An effort should also be made to encourage prenatal and postnatal care, and to improve hygiene. The survey authors also recommended that the refugees be encouraged to go to the social service centres of their own free will for checkups or for medical training. . . .

The following is extracted from field reports of October-December 1983 from Dr. Richard Nesbit, Medical Director of the Int'l Rescue Committee's Medical Assistance Program for Afghan Refugees in the Kohat District of the NWFP:

Coming from Thailand I have noticed a number of similarities between the two refugee situations but the differences have been striking. The refugee camps here are generally scattered over large areas allowing plenty of space between individual households or tribal groups. E.g., Mohammad Khoja, a camp containing approximately 17,000, is spread out over at least 25 sq. miles. This poses major logistic problems in trying to provide readily accessible medical facilities to all refugees. The refugees are generally well housed in either Kacha or tent dwellings & well fed. The majority of males seem to derive some income generally as laborers or traders since they have freedom of movement and unimpaired access to employment in Pakistan.

Pakistan is generally a free market economy & this is particularly evident in the variety of medical services and goods available. There is a proliferation of pharmacies dispensing all drugs with the exception of narcotics; the local tendency among practitioners of medicine trained or otherwise is that "more is best" & the minimum number of drugs on a prescription I have encountered so far is 4 with 5 or 6 being the norm.

The medical practitioners licensed or otherwise are overdiagnosing tuberculosis. Generally the only criteria are Afghan refugee & cough. The patients are commenced on anti-TB therapy which lasts for 1 or 2 months - until they run out of money, feel better or tire of traveling to the village. Then they may come to our clinic demanding medicine to continue their therapy. Fortunately, mycobacteria TB culture studies show only a low level of primary drug resistance. But it can only be a limited period of time before drug resistance becomes a major problem.

The Afghans appear to view Western medicine very favorably & the injections, syrups & tablets as being the universal panacea. A common reply when someone is informed that they do not need medicine is to ask where are you selling our drugs. They believe our duty is to ration out the drugs in the same way as the wheat, powdered milk, oil, etc.

The teaching in medical schools in Pakistan & Afghanistan is not oriented toward primary health care or medical problems of a developing country, but rather towards Western high technology. Many of our doctors hope to go abroad for postgraduate training & hence spend much spare time studying for English, Canadian & American medical visa qualifying examinations. I have instituted regular medical meetings to discuss topics relevant to our program and have begun a library of material dealing with primary health care and preventative medicine. It is hoped that these measures plus in-field discussions will assist in reorienting them to more appropriate medical practice.

An improved immunization program has been started. Previously mobile vaccination teams would periodically visit the camps unannounced & vaccinate a few children. This didn't work & it was decided to have a static vaccination program in the NWFP with a vaccinator assigned to each basic health unit. The target groups are children 0-2 years old & pregnant women. We shall also try to vaccinate children in the 3-5 year range.

Considerable money & resources are being devoted to the malaria program for Afghan refugees with little evaluation of its effectiveness & with minimal collection of base line data. People seem to be content to say that, as with TB, malaria is endemic amongst Afghan refugees.

For 1984 the concept of selective primary health care still seems to be most applicable. Our priority areas will be in maternal & child health services, immunization, TB control, malaria control, diarrhoea disease control & of course, our curative services. We shall be aiming for greater community involvement, hopefully with a significant increase in the use of local Afghan personnel.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

RUSSIAN SPRING by Dennis Jones, Beaufort Books (9 East 40th St., NY, NY 10016), 1984. 327 pp. \$15.95. ISBN 0-8253-0249-8. (See review on p. 29 )

SCIMITAR by Peter Niesewand, Panther Books, Granada Publishing Ltd., (8 Grafton St., London, W1X 3LA), 1984. Paper. 574 pp. \$2.50. ISBN 0-586-05851-6. (See review on p. 29 )

PLAIN TALES OF THE AFGHAN BORDER by John Charles Edward Bowen, London, Springwood Books, 1982. 95pp.

DIE LIEDKATEGORIEN DER OZBEKEN NORDWEST-AFGHANISTANS: E. PROSOD. - FOLKLORIST STUDIE by Ingeborg Thalhammer, Vienna, Verlag des Verb. d. Wiss. Ges. 1984, III, 258S. (in series Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes: Bd. 12)

AFGHANISTAN: E. MITTLEASIAT. ENTWICKLUNGSLAND IM UMBRUCH by Dietrich Wiebe, Stuttgart, Klett, 1984. 195 pp. 27 maps.

AFGHANISTAN DAR MASIR-I TARIKH by Mir Ghulam Muhammad Ghubar, Qum (Iran), 1359 h.s. (1980). 843 pp. in Persian. (This book was first published in Afghanistan in 1968, banned, then allowed.)

THE POTENTIAL OF AFGHANISTAN'S SOCIETY AND INSTITUTIONS TO RESIST SOVIET PENETRATION AND DOMINATION by Nake Kamrany & Leon Poullada in collaboration with Anthony Arnold, Robert Canfield & Richard Newell, Santa Monica, Fundamental Books (238 Bicknell Street, Santa Monica, CA 90406). 180 pp. \$20 prepaid. Available from the same publisher are BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN by Kamrany & Poullada. 15,000 entries, 5 volumes, \$250 prepaid. & A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFGHAN-SOVIET RELATIONS by Kamrany. 20 pp. \$10. The first bibliography is the result of the Afghanistan Research Materials Survey funded by NEH Grant RC-\*2088-80. Contributors to the project were Thomas Gouttierre, Leila Poullada, Mohammad Akram, Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, Gerhard Schmitt-Rink, Shapour Hamidi, Giorgio Vercellin, Zawaruddin Yaqubi, Karima Zarifi & Dunning Wilson.

AFGHAN ALTERNATIVES: ISSUES, OPTIONS & POLICIES edited by Ralph Magnus, Transaction Books, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ. The proceedings of a conference held in November 1983 at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

"Doroga v Kabul" (The Road to Kabul) by Lt. Col. P. Studenkin in PRAVDA, 9/20/84 & "Noch' na brone" (A Night in an Armored Vehicle) by V. Okulov & Lt. Col. Studenkin in PRAVDA 10/11/84.

"Tears, Blood & Cries" Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion 1979 - 1984, A REPORT FROM HELSINKI WATCH prepared by Jeri Laber & Barnett Rubin. December 1984. 210 pp. \$10. Copies available from Helsinki Watch, 36 West 44th Street, NY, NY 10036

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN SOUTHWEST ASIA edited by Hafeez Malik, New York, Praeger, 1984. 232 pp. The book is based on a seminar at Villanova University organized by the American Inst. of Pakistan Studies & the Pakistan-American Fda. There are two chapters on the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan; one written by Selig Harrison, the other by Munir Ahmed.

"War Torn! The Story of Two Women" by Jan Goodwin in the LADIES HOME JOURNAL, February, 1985. (Exerpts on p. 23 )

AFGHAN REFUGEES: FIVE YEARS LATER by Allen K. Jones for the US Committee for Refugees, January 1985. 24 pp. Available from the US Committee for Refugees, 815 Fifteenth Street NW, Suite 610, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202 - 667-0782). Send \$2 to cover postage & handling. (See review on p. 30 )

PANJSJIR - FEM TIGRARS DAL by Stefan Lindgren, photographs by Odd Uhrborn, Stockholm, Ordfronts Förlag, 1984. ISBN 91-7324-203-9. in Swedish. \$20. Lindgren and Uhrborn were in the Panjsher in the fall of 1983. An English translation is in the works. Another book in Swedish, TRAVELS IN AFGHANISTAN by Jan Myrdal, originally published in 1959 has been reprinted with a new forward by the author. It is published by Norstedts in Stockholm.

## BOOK REVIEWS

RUSSIAN SPRING by Dennis Jones, Beaufort Books, New York, 1984, and SCIMITAR by Peter Niesewand, Panther Books, Granada Publishing Ltd., London, 1984.

If you enjoy spy stories, adventure thrillers, improbable tales of derring-do, two recent novels should be added to your list of "must reads". Both of these stories make ample use of the Afghan scene and the current Afghan-Soviet relationship.

Russian Spring and Scimitar are really quite different from each other, yet they share certain peculiar similarities. Both delve into the highest echelons of the Soviet intelligence bureaucracy and the authors of both books deliver the impression that those at the top of the several "Directorates" share little in the way of fraternal peace, cooperation and friendship which one would expect from such compatriots of the Communist leadership. In fact, according to these authors, there is out-and-out cutthroat rivalry. Niesewand, not to be one-sided, offers a similar relationship of mutual disrespect between separate intelligence agencies in the USA.

Both books include as major characters "gentle"men with military backgrounds working as intelligence functionaries. In Russian Spring there is Andrei Mikhailov, colonel in the Soviet army, who is also (but unknown to the military) serving as an officer of the KGB. His KGB function is mainly to observe his fellow military officers and report on their loyalty and the loyalty of their troops. Such stories being what they are, Mikhailov additionally happens to be the nephew of Vasily Romanenko, who, as the story progresses, becomes leader of the Soviet Union.

Scimitar's major characters are the team of Clive Lyle and David Ross, working for the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency), an intelligence operation of the Pentagon. Lyle's background seems to be purely military while Ross is supposedly a computer genius. Perhaps in order to maintain this genre's penchant for extraordinary characterization, Lyle is gay and Ross is married to his former computer professor who is many years his senior.

Russian Spring's story begins in a Soviet-occupied but not subdued Afghanistan and, as the story develops, shifts to the Soviet heartland. Mikhailov, a humanist at heart, is troubled by what he perceives the Soviet Union to be doing in Afghanistan and by what it is not doing at home. Stirred to remorse by having to kill a child mortally wounded in an anti-guerrilla action near Herat in order to spare her from unbearable suffering, he offers himself as a double spy to the CIA. By offering intelligence to them he helps to deflect Soviet strikes against the mujahideen. Having developed the story's theme in Afghanistan, the author shifts the action to the USSR itself, and concentrates on a top echelon power struggle for leadership of the nation between a liberal uncle Romanenko and an evil-nasty head of the KGB. Throw in a love story (she's a Canadian journalist working for the CIA), eventual discovery of Mikhailov's treason; and finally a total civil war in the USSR climaxed by nuclear madness and one has had a lively read.

Scimitar begins "... before the arrival of lamb chops at lunch on a warm spring day in New York..." and develops in its own peculiarly enjoyable fashion until, on page 387 the reader first finds mention of Afghanistan. Don't skip the first 386 pages, however, since they are filled with plenty of murder and mayhem, kidnapping and other skulduggery. If that's not enough there is kinky sex with a "G" rating (unless to you a few words equals a thousand pictures), and adventures in skydiving. Heroes Lyle and Ross set out to determine what it was that Rabinovich, nuclear scientist member of a Soviet SALT talk team who tried to defect, wanted to tell the US government before being snatched back by the KGB (with the help of DIA rival agency, the CIA). One thing leads to another and this hardworking, hardplaying team heads off toward Badakhshan to gather evidence of Soviet use of a new nuclear

# ORGANIZATIONS

The British AFGHAN SUPPORT COMMITTEE, 18 Charing Cross Road, London WC2N 0HR, plans an exhibition of the best available photographs from Afghanistan in the last 5 years on March 21st. If you plan to be in London, phone the Committee at 01 379 7218 to find out the details.

The HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFGHANISTAN COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 831, Park Forest, Illinois 60466 (312-481-7541), works to "support & fund medical & surgical units operating inside...Afghanistan." They also "work to document & report on massive human rights violations." Contributions are tax deductible. Robert Putnam is the chairman; Anwar Ahady is vice chairman.

The PROGRESSIVE AFGHAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (started by Maiwandwal) is hoping to become the COALITION GOVERNMENT OF FREE AFGHANISTAN. The group is trying to organize a jirgah inside Afghanistan which will include representatives of all parties including the PDPA.

Zia Nassry reports that the AFGHAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION meets monthly at the New York Hilton. For information write them at P.O. Box 1100, Radio City Station, New York, NY 10101. You might get an answer if your letter contains the \$25 membership fee. Zia also publishes the AFGHAN NEWS. \$25 to the same address will bring you a year's subscription to this 4 page paper which purports to be the organ of the Coalition Gov't of Free Afghanistan. One page of the paper is in English.

The SWEDISH COMMITTEE, known primarily for its work in Afghanistan, does have many chapters in Sweden. The groups sell stickers & buttons for 10c & \$1 respectively. You can write for information and/or products to Johan Lagerfelt, Sabylund, S-69200 Kumla, Sweden.



The CONGRESSIONAL TASK FORCE ON AFGHANISTAN, a bipartisan group, was formed to examine US policy toward Afghanistan. Their first newsletter contained the following information:

The Task Force will serve as an informational source on issues of concern to Afghanistan and will hold hearings that will focus upon the aid needs of the Afghans and alternative methods of getting effective aid into Afghanistan. No one single issue before Congress enjoys such widespread bipartisan support as Afghanistan and the valiant efforts of the mujahideen in their struggle against the Soviets; the Task Force on Afghanistan reflects this bipartisan spirit.

Currently, there are many conflicting reports on Afghanistan and specifically regarding the effectiveness of the U.S. aid program. One goal of the Task Force is to provide Members of Congress with accurate information on the humanitarian and military situation inside Afghanistan and to ensure that the intent of Congress to adequately aid the freedom fighters is implemented.

Committee members are listed below. Senator Humphrey seems to be taking the initiative so, if your congressman isn't listed, write to him at the Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

## Senate

Senator Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.), Chairman  
Senator Charles E. Grassley (R-IO)  
Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.)  
Senator Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.)  
Senator Paul Simon (D-IL)  
Senator Steven D. Symms (R-ID)  
Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-WY)

## House

Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino (R-CA) Co-Chairman  
Rep. Don Ritter (R-PA) Co-Chairman  
Rep. Silvio O. Conte (D-MA)  
Rep. Thomas E. Petri (R-WI)  
Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-NY)  
Rep. Samuel S. Stratton (D-NY)  
Rep. Charles Wilson (D-TX)

The Task Force plans a series of hearings: the first on 2/25; the subject, the impending famine in Afghanistan; Witnesses - Barnett Rubin, Rosanne Klass, Lord Cranbourne, Kurt Lohbeck, Jack Wheeler & Abdul Haq. A second hearing on 3/4 will focus on the medical emergency in Afghanistan.



weapon there. Their aim is to bring back this evidence, in the form of living survivors of the nuclear strikes, so that Soviet duplicity in the SALT talks will be exposed and Soviet aims thwarted.

Notwithstanding the rigors of Afghanistan, doubledealing mujahideen and mercenary nomads, four survivors of a neutron bomb do return to the USA, with Lyle and Ross constituting half of the evidence. This DIA team certainly delivers all that's promised and more.

The Afghan scenes covered in both books have qualities of realism. The landscapes, people and cultural commentaries are usually believable. Of the two, Scimitar's author seems to have the better grasp of the Afghan milieu and, indeed, biographical information provided in the book indicates that Niesewand, a journalist, has been in Afghanistan. His firsthand observations definitely add a tone of authenticity to the story. Take the following paragraph, for example:

The inside of the bus was, if anything, gaudier than its exterior. The sides and ceiling were covered with shiny tin, beaten into the shapes of flowers and decorated with verses from the Koran in sweeping stylized script, studded with gold and silver glitter. The interior lights were red and yellow, and just beside the driver hung a battery of coloured bulbs which flashed whenever he hit the brakes. This action also triggered a musical device. and the first bars of Lara's Theme chimed monotonously. (P. 421.)

Now if that doesn't remind you of the local "serwees," you've never been there. So get there! Read Russian Spring and Scimitar!

Len Oppenheim  
New York City

AFGHAN REFUGEES: FIVE YEARS LATER by Allen K. Jones for the US Committee for Refugees (a program of the American Council for Nationalities Service), January 1985.

The US Committee for Refugees has produced a concise report on the current status of Afghan refugees. Author Allen Jones gives a brief history of the refugee situation & tells what relief efforts have been made by the Pakistan Government, the United Nations & other agencies. However, the main purpose of the report is to examine the impact of the refugee population on Pakistan & the impact of refugee status on the Afghans. Jones discusses the positive & negative social & political adjustments which the refugees have forced on Pakistan, and Pakistan on the refugees. The author finds the chance of a political settlement with the Soviet Union rather unlikely but does include the possibility in the report's list of final recommendations.

Resettlement in 3rd countries is also discussed although the author states that it does not figure as prominently for the Afghans as it has for other recent refugee populations. He cites the following UNHCR statistics for the resettlement of Afghans in 1983: US - 1,695, Turkey - 381, France - 115, Australia - 65, Canada - 49, West Germany - 37, Italy - 18, Switzerland - 10, UK - 7, Denmark - 5, Sweden - 4, New Zealand - 3, & Austria & India - 2 each. Those figures seem a little strange to this reviewer, but I am not sure about the legal implications of "resettlement." The US admitted about 2,200 in 1984, down from the 4,235 admitted in 1982. The quota for admission to the US from the Near East & South Asia has been lowered to 5,000 for FY 1985. Resettlement agencies fear that this will adversely affect the Afghans.

This booklet is packed with interesting information. Send \$2 to the US Committee for Refugees, 815 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20005, and get a copy for yourself.

Mary Ann Siegfried

12/15 - Babrak toured Kabul meeting the citizens and received their thanks for "the attention paid by the state of the DRA to the constant improvement of their life."

- Afghancart, the state-owned trading company founded after the April revolution, sold over Afs.1 billion worth of consumer goods from March-August 1984.

12/26 - The daily Haqiqat -e-Engelab-e-Saur states that "although the damages inflicted by the counter-revolution to the Afghan economy have been heavy, totalling over Afs. 35 billion, considerable economic achievements have been made since the April Revolution of 1978." Agricultural production is up 6% & the national income is up 6.3%. The state investment in the industrial sector will surpass the Afs. 7 billion mark by 3/85. Foreign trade increased 7% over last year. The volume of trade with "developing & capitalist countries" has doubled in the past 6 years; trade with the USSR has tripled. Foreign aid has increased: Czechoslovakia "offered the DRA \$120m between 1980 & 1983 as credit on easy terms with a grace period of 17 years for purchasing equipment." Gratis aid pledged to the DRA for the period 1982-1989 by Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Mongolia & other Socialist countries amounts to over \$6.4m. Hungary has given a \$2.7m credit & Bulgaria a \$31.3m credit with a 15 year grace period at 2% interest.

- An 800 line telephone exchange was inaugurated in the Khairkhana section of Kabul. The 3rd fleet of heavy duty Kamaz trucks began operating. The shops for servicing the 300 vehicles cover a 25 hectare area.

12/27 - A center for petroleum services opened in Kabul. It will meet the petroleum needs of Kabul & the eastern provinces & provide oil tanker repair service.

12/29 - The Council of Ministers created the post of Deputy Minister of Mother & Child Care in the Health Ministry on 12/21. 20 new mother & child care centers are to be established next year. "40% of the existing number of beds in Kabul & the provinces will be allocated since 3/21/85 for child & women patients."

12/29 - Youth groups met to express their solidarity with the striking British coal miners. They have sent citrus fruit, gloves, stockings, jackets & other items to the strikers.

- An agreement on Afghan-Soviet cooperation in meteorology for 1984-1988 was signed. 15 Soviet specialists will come to the DRA to train Afghans; other Afghans will go to the USSR for training. Equipment worth rubles 1m will be given to the DRA.

- A 2-year program of scientific & cultural cooperation was signed by the DRA & the GDR,

- New Kabul construction: a residential block for police officials to cost \$100m, housing for 2300 families, & a 50-bed emergency hospital for the Red Crescent.

12/31 - The Order of the Red Banner, "a high state honor," was awarded to Hushmatullah Kaihani, the Special Revolutionary Attorney-General of the DRA, for outstanding services.

- A "modern radio communication installation for aviation control" was inaugurated at the Kandahar airport. The Faizabad TV station began telecasting today.

- The Pakistani charge d'affaires in Kabul was called to the DRA Foreign Ministry to hear denials of Pakistani accusations of air space violations.

- Babrak & Keshtmand sent congratulatory messages to Rajiv Gandhi on the Congress Party's victory in the Indian elections.

1/2 - Afghanistan protested "firing & shelling once again" from 12/24-29 from Pakistan against Baricot wounding 11 soldiers & 8 civilians & damaging residential buildings.

- A musical instrument preservation center has been established in Kabul.

- A new TV station opened in Jalalabad & broadcasts from 12:00 - 5:30 (GMT) every day.

1/5 - The Noor Eye Institute examined 30,000 patients the 1st 6 months of last year. As of 3/20/85 all eye examinations will be free of charge. There is a branch of the Institute in Herat & one will be established in Balkh next year.

- 1/7 - The DRA again protested to Pakistan about border incidents. On 12.29 "an armed band of 250 persons including 50 Pakistani militia intruded the border & entered

Chamkani region of Paktia Province & continually fired on Bangasht village..."

1/8 - Delegations arriving in Kabul for the 20th anniversary of the PDPA celebrations: Communist parties of the USSR, Vietnam, Cuba, Rumania, Bulgaria; Syrian Baath Party, Nat'l, Congress Party of India, Polish United Workers, People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, Korean Worker's Party, German United Socialist Party, Peoples Revolutionary Parties of Laos & Kampuchea, Yemen Socialist Party, the Ethiopian Workers Party, plus delegates from Saudi Arabia, Denmark, Czechoslovakia & Iran.

- The Special Revolutionary Tribunal sentenced Moh'd Jan, son of Abdul Ghaffar, to death for his role in a bus bombing in Kabul on 6/3/84.

1/9 - The DRA & the People's Republic of Mozambique established diplomatic relations at the "embassy level" on 1/7/85.

- The DRA protested to Iran over the shelling of the Shersheri border post in Herat on 12/28. "As a result of which a number of Afghans were either martyred or wounded."

Counter-revolutionaries killed 12 in the Engul district of Herat.

- A cooperation protocol was signed by the PDPA & the Marxist Communist Party of India.

- Babrak met with the delegates of Communist Parties in Kabul for the PDPA anniversary.

1/11 - Babrak addressed the gala celebrating the 20th anniversary of the PDPA. He noted that the original 7 members of the PDPA CC in 1965 were Noor Moh'd Taraki, himself, Sultan Ali Keshtmand, Saleh Moh'd Zeary, Ghulam Dastegar Panjsheri, Moh'd Taher Badakhshi & Shahrullah Shahpar.

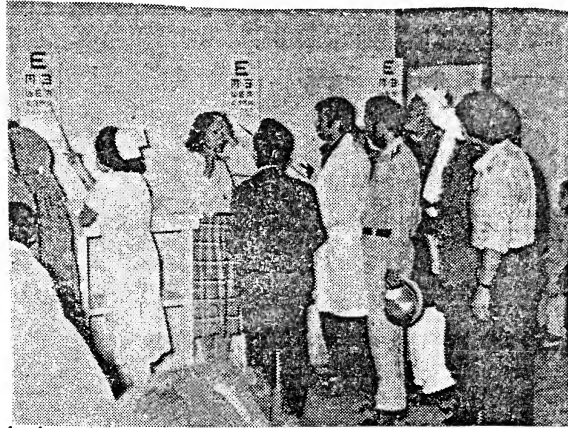
1/15 - Babrak congratulated Khan Abdul Wali Khan on his election as the president of the Nat'l Democratic Party of Pakistan.

- Another barter trade agreement was signed by the USSR & the DRA.

1/17 - A 5-day song festival of Afghan youth ended today. The best singers got prizes.

- A book, AFGHANISTAN DEVELOPMENTS & PEOPLE, by Vassilini Sikov was published by the Bulgarian Communist Party in Sofia.

- The Institute of Workers Education, set up in 1980, "imparts education in natural & social sciences." It now has 137 students who, after graduating, will go to Kabul Univ.



A view of the eye-sight testing room of the Noor Institute.  
(See 1/5)  
(Photo: Bakhtar)

1/20 - The Bagrami textile mills have produced 85.68% of their yearly quota in the 1st 9 months of the current year. The cloth is sold through state run stores & to private merchants in the DRA.

- TV stations are now operating in Herat, Kandahar & Jalalabad using a lotus satellite ground relay-reception center (a gift of the Soviets). The stations "telecast political, social, informative & artistic programs." The station in Khost is ready to go & those in Farah & Ghazni will be ready soon. Stations are also planned for Balkh, Pulikhumri, Kunar & Helmand.

- A water supply project on the Logar River will be finished soon. It will provide drinking water to 270,000 people.

- Afs. 50 = \$1.00

1/21 - The Gov't Printing Press in Kabul has produced over "500,000 volumes of different books" in the last 10 months. "The output of the Press has grown manifold during the past 6 years as a result of a tremendous spurt in intellectual & educational activities."

1/21 - Banditism at work against the Revolution has cost the DRA Afs. 35 billion. However, this year agricultural production is up 7.3% & national income is up 6.3% (see 12/26)  
- A 110-bed children's hospital opened in Kabul.  
- The DRA & Poland signed an agreement for cooperation between their science academies.

1/22 - 48 mosques received carpets, diesel oil, room heaters & wall clocks from the Islamic Affairs Dept. The items, \$20,000 worth, were paid for by Libya.

- The Pioneers Organization has 87,000 members; 25,000 join annually. The DYOA has 130,000 members & accepts 21,000 new members each year.  
- A Watan Nursery was opened in Farah.

1/27 - The Inst; of Child Health got a central heating system compliments of the Indian Government.

- A recent visitor to Kabul was Berdo Salmiron, a member of the Sandinist Nat'l Liberation Front of Nicaragua.  
- Czechoslovakia has given the DRA Afs. 2m worth of communications equipment.

- Membership in the DYOA today surpasses 140,000 (see 1/22).

- The Afghan Pioneers gave 10 tons of raisins to Britain's striking miners.

1/28 - Over 300 medical doctors & pharmacists have graduated from Kabul Univ. since 3/20/84.

- Work on the Lashkari Canal in Nimroz, suspended because of bandit activity, has resumed. The project will be completed in 1988.

1/29 - "About 90,000 patients were checked up medically in Herat Province."

- Trade unions in the DRA have over 200,000 members.

- Statistics presented at a recent meeting of the Council of Ministers: activity at mechanized agricultural stations up 38% over last year; chemical fertilizer production up 18.4%; construction stone up 8%; meat by 15.4%, the printing industry by 21.8% & carpentry by 2.2%.

1/30 - The PDPA CC protested to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China about China's support of revolutionary bands. The DRA has captured Chinese-made weapons. The DRA Government also protested to the Chinese Government.

- Over 310,000 landless peasant families have received land since 1978.

- 16 new public libraries have been opened in the DRA.

1/31 - A gala meeting marked the 25th anniversary of the Afghan-Soviet Friendship Assn.

- The 5th anniversary of the founding of the Inst. of Social Sciences of the PDPA CC was marked. 7,850 people have graduated from it.

2/2 - The GDR will give the DRA a 200,000 mark assortment of pediatric drugs, vaccines & medical equipment in 1985 through UNICEF.

- Hospitals since 1978: 40-bed Noor eye hospital in Herat; Kabul emergency hospital; 240-bed Kandahar hospital; 140-bed contagious disease hospital; 200-bed Herat hospital. there are 89 hospitals functioning in the DRA & 97.5% of all medical services are provided free.

2/3 - A Swiss paper reports that the US ordered anti-aircraft weapons from a Swiss firm for the counter-revolutionaries. The BIA correspondent is upset.

- Over 302,000 tons of goods were transported in the DRA in the past 9 months, 25,000 tons over the target plan. Over 97,000m people traveled by Milli bus during the same period - 13% more than last year.

2/4 - Over 15,500 peasants are mobilized in over 320 agricultural cooperatives.

- Farid Mazdak is the 1st Sec't of the DYOA CC.

- Over 1,001,000 have become literate since the Saur Revolution.

2/5 - Kabul residents are receiving over 40,000 cubic meters of potable water each day. In the DRA 100,000 people are covered by health insurance.

2/7 - The Export Development Bank has loaned over \$32m to commercial firms & individuals since 3/20/84. It has also extended \$10m for import credit.

- Counter-revolution damage:  $\frac{1}{2}$  the schools in the country; martyred over 200 religious figures & 15 judges; "arsoned" over 100 hospitals (see 2/2) & medical centers &  $\frac{1}{2}$  the country's cargo trucks; destroyed many bridges, power lines & communications centers.

2/7 - The NFF has 700,000 members.

2/9 - "There are an estimated 417,000 nomad families in Afghanistan. It's true that all of them can't leave nomadic life at once. To help them achieve this end the Government... is opening livestock raising & marketing cooperatives." Land & low-interest loans are available for nomads who want to build their own houses.

- The new term began at Kabul Univ. About 10,000 students are studying 49 disciplines in 13 faculties.

- The PDPA sent a 15th anniversary greeting to the CC of the Fidayane-Khalq-e-Iran.

- The Bakhtar political observer writes: "The so-called radio 'Free Europe' & 'Radio Liberty' are operating from the soil of Pakistan. ...These radio stations carry out false propaganda against the DRA & the USSR. These devilish forces are striving hard to lead the world public opinion astray from the known facts."

2/10 - "The most fundamental economic contradiction in our society is economic growth on the one hand & the very low level of development

of productive forces on the other." The role of the state will be increased to resolve this dilemma.

2/12 - Wali Moh'd Abdiani is the mayor of Kabul which now has 1.1 million people.

2/14 - The number of nomad families is now 450,000 (see 2/9).

- Over 150 Hindus joined the NFF in Jalalabad.

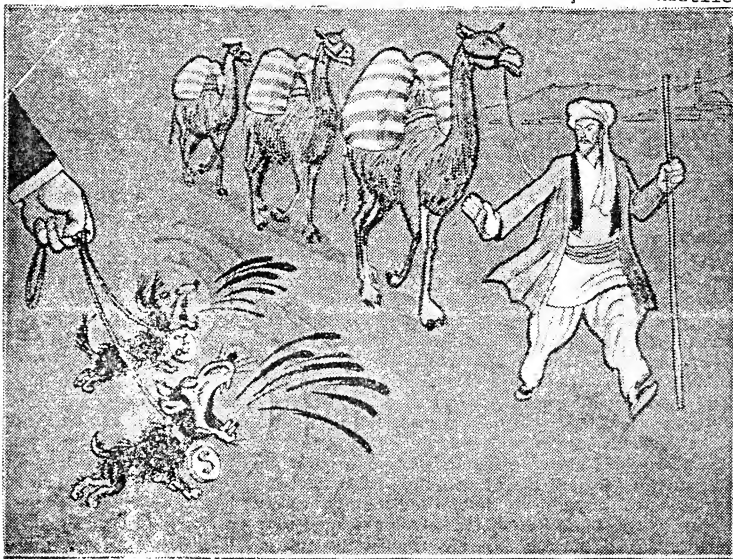
- Bulgaria "gifted" \$10,000 worth of sports equipment to the DRA.

- "Armed attacks among the bandits have increased in 1985 as the US announced additional aid of \$280m to them. Besides, over \$200m aids promised by China & Israel have further ground for their armed confrontation among themselves."

- The FRG charge d'affaires was called to the DRA Foreign Ministry & given a protest note complaining about the mass media of the FRG intensifying "their false & poisonous propaganda activity against the DRA." The DRA also protested the "secret & illegal arrival of journalists... military men & statesmen" of the FRG to help the counter-revolutionary bands. The DRA demands that the FRG stop these hostile actions or answer for the consequences.

\* \* \*

A new 258-page book, FROM TRAGEDY TO TRIUMPH, by Sadhan Mukarjee, published by Sterling Publishers in Delhi, tells the story of the Afghan Revolution. According to Bakhtar, Mukarjee has written many articles supporting the Revolution.



America, I. gs on the way of Afghan nomads.

KNT 4/17/84

# ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION

The victory of the national-democratic revolution, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, was not a chance phenomenon in the modern history of Afghanistan. The Revolution triumphed because the masses could not tolerate any more the inhuman tyranny of the corrupt autocratic regime and the medieval oppression under feudal and prefeudal relations which prevailed in the country, because the ruling circles could not solve the urgent socio-economic problems which were adversely affecting the life of the masses and because the people had struggled for years and in different ways against this grim and intolerable situation.

The Revolution was the logical outcome of this long and arduous struggle which after the establishment of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) on January 1, 1965, had acquired a more organized and purposeful character, paving the way to its final victory.

Before the Revolution, Afghanistan was one of the most backward countries in the world, being among the 31 least developed countries. The country had the lowest economic indicators. Its per capita income was one of the lowest in the world and the country ranked 108th among the 129 developing countries.

Feudalism in Afghanistan had exhausted its potential as a historical social formation and could go no further. It was serving no purpose other than to obstruct the path of the development of productive forces which were seeking to be released. The newly-emerging bourgeoisie and its allies who endeavouring to push the country onto the path of capitalism had failed in their half-hearted attempt in the face of feudal stagnation and resistance. The reaction, from which the ruling circles were drawing their power, resisted vehemently even half-hearted attempts at the reforms

considered necessary for the survival of the decaying system.

In an attempt to save the day, Prince Daoud, the monarch's cousin, carried out a coup in 1973. Proclaiming Afghanistan a republic, he announced certain reforms which, if implemented, would have been a step in the right direction. However, Daoud hid behind the label of left-wing reformist for only a short period. He soon showed his true face: an ambitious prince who had stepped in to save his class from inevitable destruction. He pushed the country back to where it was. The dominance of corrupt elements in the government was restored, progressive elements were expelled from government posts, land reform he had promised was shelved to keep the landowners on his side, the seven-year socio-economic development plan for the country was geared towards the interests of the ruling circles and his foreign policy tilted towards the interests of the reactionary elements in the region and international imperialism.

Thus the political and economic situation in the country went from bad to worse. This situation called, and was ripe, for a true revolution which would change the very

foundation of relations of production in the country and take Afghanistan out of the medieval ages and into the twentieth century. Of course, this was possible only if the struggle of the people for liberation was led by a trusted and experienced party which could unite and guide all the national and democratic forces towards victory. In the PDPA the people of Afghanistan found such a political vanguard.

On January 1, 1965, the founding congress of the PDPA, in which delegates from different parts of the country participated, was held in Kabul. The establishment of the Party was an historically important event in the political life of the country and introduced a new phase in the long struggle of the Afghan people for the elimination of oppression and exploitation and for ensuring the interests of the labouring man of Afghanistan.

The platform of the Party was announced in the first and second issues of *Khalq*, the journal of the PDPA Central Committee. The platform, which was a thorough analysis of the situation prevailing in the country, presented a comprehensive programme of social, economic and cultural transformations through a national-democratic revolution, which were to be realized by a broad front of national and democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces.

The Party believed that at the present stage in the country's development a national-democratic regime could and must replace the tyrannical monarchy, which represented the feudal-aristocratic system. That is, the Party believed that social progress was possible only through the implementation of basic revolutionary transformations reflecting the vital interests of the workers, peasants, craftsmen, the intellectuals, nationalities and tribes of the country, including the nomadic tribes. The new system was to embody and reflect the best political, national, cultural and religious traditions of the Afghan nation.

On April 27, 1978, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist national-democratic revolution triumphed in Afghanistan, under the leadership of the PDPA, which was called upon to realize this noble aim. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was proclaimed and the necessary conditions were prepared for the solution of acute and urgent problems in the interests of the people.

The liberated toilers of the country, guided by their revolutionary Party and state, began the noble task of building a new society based on the principles of social progress and justice.

Unfortunately, however, immediately after the victory of the Revolution an undeclared war was waged by the forces of imperialism, led by US imperialism, and in complicity with Chinese hegemonists and reactionary elements in the region, against the young democratic republic in an attempt to deprive the people of Afghanistan of enjoying the fruits of their historical victory. Pakistan and Iran were turned into springboards of aggression against Afghanistan, counter-revolutionary bands were set up, financed, trained and armed on the territory of these countries for subversion in Afghanistan, and a number of innocent Afghan citizens were made to leave their revolutionary land through a mixture of propaganda, deceit, force and false promises.

At the same time, mistakes were committed during the initial phase of the Revolution which added to the problem. As a result, Hafizullah Amin, who had managed to infiltrate the Party, usurped power by murdering Noor Mohammad Taraki, the first President of the Afghan Revolutionary Council. Under his rule, the revolutionary process was undermined from within, a reign of terror was unleashed in



the country and conspiracies were hatched in complicity with the reactionary elements in the region which could have resulted in the dismemberment of Afghanistan.

This was a situation that had to be changed. The healthy and principled forces of the Party and Revolution were able to topple down the despotic rule of Amin, and the April Revolution entered a new and evolutionary phase to realize the aspirations of the people.

Today, under the leadership of the PDPA, basic revolutionary transformations are being implemented in the interests of the people, the national and patriotic unity of the Afghan people has been ensured in the struggle for building a new life and the toilers of the country are confident of the bright future awaiting them in spite of the difficulties created by the counter-revolution. All national and progressive forces of the country have consolidated their ranks around the PDPA, the leading and guiding force of Afghan society.

This is indicative of the fact that the attempts of the counter-revolutionaries, inspired, financed and armed by imperialist, hegemonist and reactionary forces to reverse the revolutionary process in the DRA have failed and the economic sanctions imposed by imperialist countries have no prospect of bearing fruit.

Achievements in the socio-economic development of the country during the previous year (March 21, 1983, to March 20, 1984) indicate that in spite of all the difficulties caused by the undeclared war, measures adopted by the people's government are achieving results. For the first time, the GNP and the national income of the country surpassed those of the year 1357 (March 21, 1978, to March 20, 1979). This means that more goods were produced and more services provided for the people as compared to the years before the Revolution.

During the previous year the GNP of the country showed (on the basis of 1357 prices) an increase of Afs. 8,300,000,000 or 6 per cent in comparison with the year before (March 21, 1982, to March 20, 1983). Similarly, during the same year the national income of the country showed an increase of 4.5 per cent or Afs. 4,300,000,000. This growth resulted from the considerable increase in agricultural and industrial production and an increased amount of construction work.

During the current year (March 20, 1984, to March 20, 1985), work on a total of 180 projects will be accelerated and work will begin on 29 new projects. Feasibility studies on another 37 projects will also be completed during the same period.

Afs. 15,084,000,000 have been allocated in the state budget for the current year for developmental investment, of which Afs. 7,770,000,000 will be taken from domestic financial resources and 146,280,000 dollars (Afs. 7,314,000,000) will be provided through grants in aid and foreign credits.

The mines, industries and energy sectors have been given priority in developmental investment, amounting to a total of Afs. 6,036,500,000 or 35.8 per cent of the total investment during the year. The social services sector comes next with 29.4 per cent or Afs. 4,948,200,000. The transportation and communications sectors are allocated Afs. 3,978,900,000 or 23.6 per cent and agriculture and irrigation Afs. 1,682,200,000 or 10 per cent. 1.2 per cent of the allocation for developmental investment in the state budget for the current year is kept aside as a reserve for additional investment needs.

Financial and technical assistance by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community plays an

important role in the development of the country's national economy. The share of these countries in the total foreign aid envisaged in the socio-economic state plan of the country for the current year, amounts to 92.9 per cent, including 72.5 per cent provided by the Soviet Union alone. Only 7.1 per cent of the foreign aid will be provided by other countries and international organizations. It must be mentioned that all capitalist countries and capitalist-oriented international financial organizations have either reduced or stopped their aid in violation of the commitments they had made.

Assessment of the implementation of the socio-economic state plan during the first quarter of the year (March 20 to June 20, 1984) shows that the main targets of the plan have been reached and it is certain that the basic goals of the plan will be fully implemented in the course of the year. This will insure the steady socio-economic development of the country in the future.

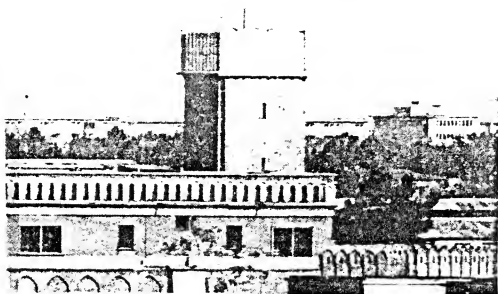
The chapters of this book will acquaint you with the revolutionary transformations under way in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the achievements of the April national-democratic revolution. Of course, these achievements would have been much greater and the pace of revolutionary transformations much faster if not for the grim legacy of the past coupled with the negative effects of the undeclared war against Afghanistan and the subversive and terroristic activities of the counter-revolutionary hirelings of the organizers of this criminal war.

Nevertheless, if the achievements made do not tally with the expectations of the revolutionary Party and state of Afghanistan it is because the continuing havoc caused by the undeclared war has made it difficult to meet fully the expectations, aspirations and tasks which have been formulated by the PDPA for building a new, prosperous Afghan society based on the principles of social progress and justice, and which enjoy the full support of all the people. The revolutionary process in Afghanistan has proved its irreversibility and the enemies of the people, homeland and Revolution are not capable of depriving the militant people of Afghanistan of the right to build their bright future. And this is, in fact, the main achievement of the April Revolution in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Information and Press Department  
DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Kabul, 1984



The former royal residence in Kabul where sessions of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan now take place





In recent weeks a U.S. media blitz has been aimed at Afghanistan. The revolutionary government there and its ally, the Soviet Union, are accused daily of mayhem, rape and pitiless extermination of the Afghan people. So coordinated are the big business media in pushing this story that few in this country dare to question its truth.

But the media of U.S. imperialism are "shouting like hell" because their argument is totally false. The truth is that the Afghan Revolution is growing stronger, the forces of counter-revolution are weak, corrupt and divided, and the Reagan administration faces the disintegration of its covert war there unless it pours more hundreds of billions of dollars into the effort.

But even that's a problem.

Frank talk about the greed of the Afghan contras (the so-called "freedom fighters") seldom makes it into prime time news. To get that story you have to read the Wall Street Journal, which leaks some of the facts since the rich need to know how things are really going for them. On Dec. 27 this financiers' paper devoted a long article to how leaders of the CIA-directed "rebels" are getting rich quick by selling the weapons supplied them by the U.S.

#### CIA comfortable with corrupt car dealer

It tells of groups like the National Islamic Front for the Liberation of Afghanistan, led by Pir Syed Ahmad al-Gailani, which "is considered by Pakistani intelligence to be one of the most corrupt rebel groups." Gailani, says the Journal, used to be a Peugeot car dealer in Kabul and is considered a political "moderate", that is, someone CIA agents feel comfortable with. He speaks their language, evidently—the language of money. But, alas for them, Gailani seems to have learned Western ways only too well.

"The Western-educated class is more corrupt because many of them think what they are doing is in vain so they might as well earn some money to secure their futures," says one of the Journal's sources. The reporter adds that many of the "rebel" leaders have "plush exile homes in the U.S. or Britain."

Since 1979, the U.S. government has allocated \$625 million for "covert" military aid to the Afghan contras. One

right-wing U.S. lobbying group called the Federation for American Afghan Action (FAAA) estimates that as much as 70% of this is diverted into personal "aid" by the contra leaders and by Pakistani officials, who act as a conduit for the money.

The FAAA make this charge not because they're against corruption, but undoubtedly because they think the Pentagon and CIA should bypass the Afghan reactionaries and intervene openly. However, other evidence confirms that this sale of U.S. arms on the black market is widespread.

This is a familiar scene. While these counter-revolutionary riffs are presented here as great "patriots" who want to rescue their land from "foreign intervention," they are in reality the scum of Afghan society who sell themselves to the highest bidder. Least of all do they care about the people of Afghanistan—that is, the millions of peasants and workers who are breaking the hateful bounds of feudal oppression and building a new society.

#### Afghanistan makes progress

With the help of the socialist countries, Afghanistan is gradually transforming itself from one of the poorest, most backward countries in the world. Even while fighting a war against the U.S.-sponsored brigands, the people are making solid progress.

Here's some news from Afghanistan you won't see in the corporate media:

- Eleven million peasants have been liberated from having to make payments on interest, loans and mortgages to feudal lords.
- Some 680,000 hectares of land have been distributed free to 308,000 peasant families.
- One and a half million people have graduated from literacy courses.
- Workers' wages have doubled since the revolution.
- 200,000 workers are now in trade unions.
- More than 2.5 million head of livestock have been immunized.
- Peasants and agricultural cooperatives doubled their grain sales to the government last year.
- The number of mechanized agricultural stations has tripled.

All this is despite costly losses from the war, which has destroyed 1,840

schools, 130 hospitals and clinics, 800 trucks and many economic projects.

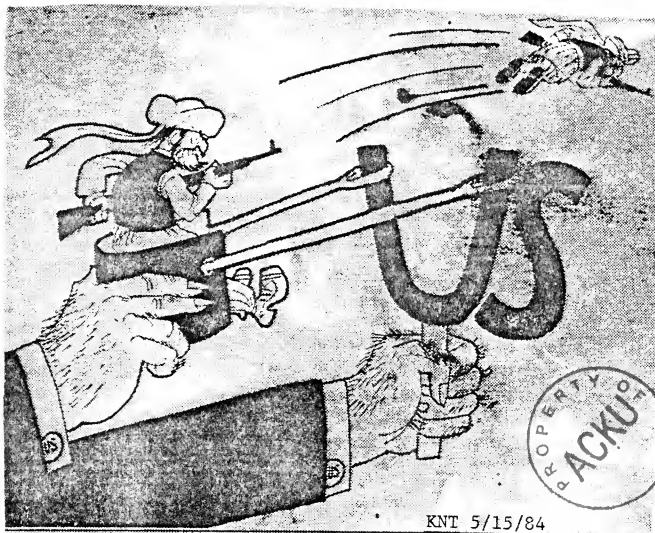
Nearly all development aid to Afghanistan comes from the socialist countries. Much of it is entirely free. All of it will help the Afghans become more self-reliant. Some developments in recent months:

- Seeds from the Soviet Union—5,000 tons of improved wheat, 1,000 tons of cotton seeds, and 30 tons of sugar beet seeds, which will greatly improve the yield of these crops.
- A pharmaceutical plant provided by Bulgaria to produce medicines from indigenous herbs and roots.
- Technical assistance from Bulgaria to restore a war-damaged brick-making kiln in Bagrami district.
- Help from Vietnam to upgrade Afghanistan's civil aviation, which is very important in a country with few roads and no railroads.
- 50,000 tons of sugar free from the USSR.
- A poultry-breeding station from Bulgaria.
- An agro-chemistry lab from the USSR.

Some 150,000 Kabul residents on Dec. 22 pitched in for a day of voluntary work cleaning schools, hospitals and mosques and repairing roads in preparation for the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan on Jan. 1

Western journalists love to sneer at this kind of socialist cooperation and imply that each volunteer had a gun at his or her back.

But any thoughtful person should be able to see that the Afghan Revolution, while struggling against formidable adversaries, has genuinely unleashed the energies of the oppressed masses who now have a stake in the future of their country. Which is why the hundreds of billions Washington spends on counter-revolution will surely be in vain.



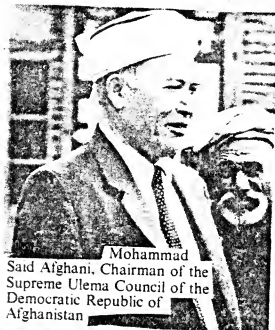
KNT 5/15/84

Bandits on their way to Afghanistan.

(See p.5 1/8)



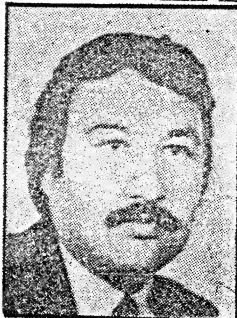
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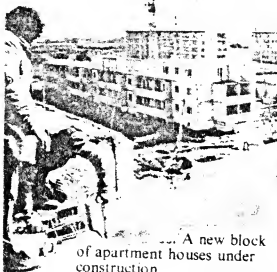
Mohammad  
Said Afghani, Chairman of the  
Supreme Ulema Council of the  
Democratic Republic of  
Afghanistan



Babrak  
Karmal, General Secretary of  
the Central Committee of the  
People's Democratic Party of  
Afghanistan, Chairman of the  
Revolutionary Council, Prime  
Minister of the Democratic  
Republic of Afghanistan



Abas Dehati, Presid  
ent of the Trade Union  
of the Ministry Agricultu-  
re. KNT 1/22/85



A new block  
of apartment houses under  
construction

The studio of Ghausuddin, a  
well-known Afghan artist, the  
founder of modern Afghan  
painting



Photos with printed captions from  
ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION  
Kabul 1984

# CHRONOLOGY

12/14 - PT - A Medecins sans Frontieres' spokesman reported that Herat & Badakhshan Provinces had been badly hit by drought. He reported price rises in the DRA of wheat (64%), rice (73%), tea (66%) & sugar (46%). MSF president Claude Malhuret also reported that 40,000 extra troops had been brought in for the April & September offensives & that now attacks were preceded by wide spread saturation bombing.

12/15 - PT - "Khyber Horse," the "grand production of millionaire Mahmood Sipra, ...will certainly be completed as planned." (see Vol. XII, # 4, p. 27) Shooting of the film was temporarily suspended "following a row between the producer & his British bankers... The horses have been stabled for the time being."

12/16 - PT - Radio Tehran reported that mujahideen destroyed 35 Soviet oil tankers in a recent attack on a convoy. They also attacked a base in Western Herat. Soviet & DRA troops have dug new trenches around Kabul & rocket launchers have been deployed at Kabul airport. Reportedly, Soviet troops are using US-made M-16 A1 rifles captured in the Vietnam war.

12/18 - PT - Tehran Radio reported that the Babrak regime has forced students all over the DRA to learn Russian & study Soviet history. The radio quoted a defecting Afghan army officer: "The armed forces are being sent to the Soviet Union for perversion from the Islamic faith."

12/19 - NYT - William Borders gives statistics: "8,000 Soviet soldiers & airmen killed since the invasion, 15-20,000 wounded. US aid to the guerrillas this year will include food for the first time.

In the continuing debate in Washington, there are some who say that while the present level of aid will keep the Russians militarily engaged, thus making them "pay a price" for going into combat in Afghanistan, it is insufficient to allow the guerrillas to win.

Asked about this view, a man in Pakistan who has intimate knowledge of the arms supply line hotly took issue with it.

"Short of giving the mujahideen the atomic bomb," he said, "there is, of course, no way at all that you could arm them sufficiently to defeat the Soviet Army."

12/20 - PT - "More than 200 persons are being shot dead every night in the prisons of Afghanistan whereas the media of the Soviet-installed Karmal administration have claimed that 'Islamic Laws' have been enforced," said a former Afghan Supreme Court Justice.

- Ten ambulances were seen taking war casualties from the Soviet hospital to the airport in Kabul on 12/12.

12/12 - PT - The Foreign Ministers of the Islamic countries, meeting at Sanaa, reiterated their demand for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

12/23 - PT - Kabul Radio said that the Engineering Faculty of Kabul Univ. has been closed. No reason was given but Radio Tehran reported that some engineering students refused to join the army. Two recent graduates who defected to Pakistan said that no students had been admitted to the school in the past 5 years.

12/24 - PT - BBC reported fresh fighting in the Panjsher Valley; mujahideen killed over 100 DRA soldiers. Over 200 Soviet troops were dropped in the valley to support the DRA soldiers, but they failed to dislodge the mujahideen.

12/25 - PT - Tehran Radio reported a mujahideen attack in Sharafat Koh in Farah. AP quoted a Moscow student as saying: "There are no men around, they are all sent to Afghanistan."

And APP adds from London More than 42,000 civilians lost their lives in Afghanistan during the 5th year of Soviet aggression. The total of war casualty counts 110,000 persons, among them almost half received severe injuries and were disabled for ever.

The Agency Afghan Press annual war analysis, from Dec. 16 1983 to Dec. 15, 1984 reveals that the Soviet air operations by aircraft and helicopter gunships and ground operations through artillery and armoured units martyred 42,167 and 400 civilians, these included more than 60 per cent children and women.

Most of the people were martyred due to non availability of medical aid during the ruthless Soviet military operations. Less than 10,000 injured per-

sons reached Pakistan for treatment. During the year 22,612 civilians were arrested and more than half were inducted forcibly to the Karmal army for conscription.

During the 5th year of this Fourth Afghan War 5,945 Soviet soldiers and officers and 4,573 Karmal troops were killed while more than 10,000 military men were wounded. The Mujahideen losses increased by 45 per cent this year as compared to the last year, 1,679 Mujahideen were martyred and 2,372 were injured during their valiant struggle for freedom.

this year 334 Soviet troops were captured by the Mujahideen out of which almost 90 per cent were awarded death sentence by the courts of the liberated territories.—APP/AAP

12/28 - NYT - "A day of infamy."

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 27 — President Reagan, marking five years since Soviet forces joined the fighting in Afghanistan, said today that the event was "a day of infamy" reminiscent of Pearl Harbor.

"There is no legitimate excuse for a great power like the Soviet Union that is doing what it is doing to the people of Afghanistan," Mr. Reagan said as he left Washington for five days of vacation here and at Palm Springs.

The Soviet Union entered the struggle in Afghanistan on Dec. 27, 1979.

On Wednesday, United States assistance to Afghan guerrillas fighting Soviet troops came under criticism this week. Senator Gordon J. Humphrey, Republican of New Hampshire, charged Wednesday that the covert aid is being lost because of mismanagement.

"It appears most of our aid is being lost in a leaky pipeline," Humphrey said. "It appears there is serious mismanagement of our aid program, perhaps of scandalous proportions."

Mr. Reagan, without confirming that such assistance was being provided, disputed the charge.

"We do the best we can in anything of this kind, under very difficult circumstances," he said.

12/29 - SCMP - TV debate:

Washington (Reuter) — A US official said on Thursday night that the Soviet Union's five-year attempt to control Afghanistan would fail and Moscow would be forced to enter negotiations over the country's future.

State Department official Michael Armacost told America's ABC television: "What will persuade them to negotiate a settlement is ... that in the absence of a political settlement they face a prolonged, protracted, savage, brutal, inconclusive and ultimately unsuccessful effort to consolidate control in this country."

"Eventually I expect them to come to that conclusion," he added.

Speaking on the fifth anniversary of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Armacost said he believed "time is not necessarily on the Soviets' side."

President Reagan on Thursday accused Moscow of infamous behaviour and said "there is no legitimate excuse" for its intervention in Afghanistan.

But Afghanistan's ambassador to the United Nations, also interviewed on ABC's *Nightline* news programme, denied his country had been invaded by the Soviet Union.

Fard Zarfi said the Soviet Union had been invited into Afghanistan five years ago to help the Afghan government "repel a foreign aggression."

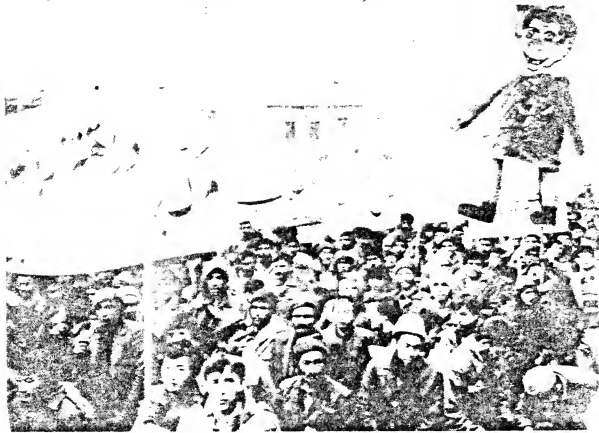
Zarfi did not identify the foreign aggressor, but said the Soviet forces would leave Afghanistan "as soon as this aggression stops." Moscow has condemned the United States for aiding Afghan rebels fighting the pro-Soviet government of Babrak Karmal.

The Reagan administration does not publicly admit it is aiding anti-Soviet Afghan guerrillas, but Congress has reportedly approved more than US\$300 million in aid since the 1979 invasion. . . .

A major Soviet and Afghan army drive against guerrilla supply lines in Pakia province has cut the chances of rebels passing through to Pakistan to one in five, the Peshawar-based guerrillas said.

12/29 - PT - Gulbuddin Hekmatyar reports Soviet deaths in Afghanistan as 30,000; Afghan deaths as 950,000 civilians & 50,000 guerrillas. He claims that 7,000 Soviet tanks have been destroyed, 380 planed downed. He states that guerrillas number about 300,000.

- SCMP - In New Delhi 2,000 Afghan refugees & 3,000 Indians protested the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan; thousands of Afghan emigres marched in Tehran; 1,000 protesters marched in Bangladesh; 400 marched in West Germany; a group calling itself "Soviet Union out of Afghanistan" demonstrated in two cities in Denmark. The same article estimates Soviet troops in Afghanistan at 140,000 with 25-30,000 others based in Termez in the USSR. DRA troops are now estimated at 35-40,000.



Thousands of Afghan exiles stage an anti-Soviet march in Teheran.

—AP picture.

12/30 - PT - Mujahideen claim to have shot down 9 aircraft in fighting in Laghman which began 12/20.

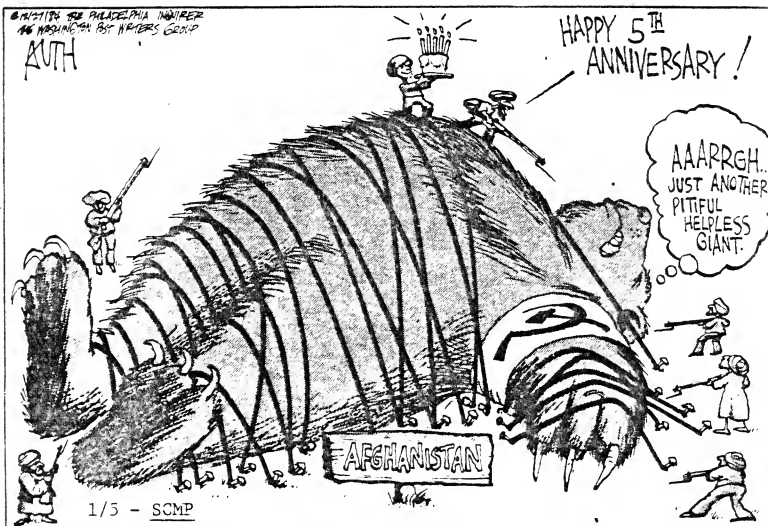
12/31 - NYT - Western diplomats report that guerrillas bombarded Kabul with 107mm rockets for 5 successive nights last week.

- The Sun (Baltimore) - Charles Corddry writes that "Defense Dept. analysts said significant developments in the war were a more assertive combat role for Soviet infantry... & a fading out of reports of chemical weapons use. The chemical warfare reports were convincing & officially accepted here. Defense officials said the Soviets must now have achieved what they wanted with experiments or concluded the results from continued use were not worth the international hue & cry." And

In a rare glimpse at official statistics on Communist losses, they quoted official sources as saying 17 Soviet and 46 Afghan soldiers were killed in Kabul in November, along with nine secret police and 52 Afghan militiamen.

CRITICIZING THE PALACE OF THE MOUNTAIN  
THE MODERNITY OF THE MOUNTAIN

AUTH



1/5 - PT - The Council of the Muslim World League charged the Soviets with using chemical weapons against the mujahideen in Afghanistan.

1/6 - NYT - French Cabinet Minister, Jean Deniau, returned from a sneak visit to Kunar Province. He is also Vice Chairman of the European Parliament's Political & Human Rights Commission. (see 1/8)

1/7 - SCMP - The DRA offered a 1-year reduction in military service as an inducement to conscripts. Service is cut from 3 to 2 years but all males between 19 & 39 are required to serve.

1/8 - SCMP - The Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan, Vitaly Smirnov, said he did not believe that Mr. Deniau (see 1/6) had gone into Afghanistan. Smirnov said that if he had, he would have been captured or killed.

- Slingshots beat Russian mines:

Afghan guerrillas have turned to the humble catapult to neutralise Moscow's latest weapon against them — small anti-personnel mines dispersed by artillery shells exploding in mid-air.

Mr. Walid Majrooh, a rebel commander in the north-eastern province of Kunar where Soviet troops have just introduced the mines on rebel supply routes, said his men needed several hours to shoot a path through the new minefields.

"Some haven't used a slingshot when they were boys and they miss a few times before hitting," he said last night.

The hand-held catapults mean the rebels do not have to waste ammunition exploding the mines. Mr Majrooh said.

[See KNT cartoon on p. 38]

1/10 - PT - The Soviets have sent 10,000 new troops to the DRA according to Radio Tehran.

- SCMP - The USSR sent only a routine delegation to Kabul for the 20th anniversary of the PDPA. The Uzbekistan Communist Party leader led the delegation. (See the Kabul chronology for coverage of the PDPA anniversary celebrations.)

1/12 - SCMP - Juergen Todenhoef, a member of the German Christian Democrat Party,

spent the last week of December near Kandahar with guerrillas. He accused Moscow of "systematically exterminating the small Afghan nation." (See Kabul Chronology 2/14)

1/13 - PT - Said Azhar, Pakistan's Chief Commissioner for Afghan Refugees, said that between 8-9,000 refugees continue to come into Pakistan each month.

1/14 - HK Standard -

### CIA accused of assisting forgers in bid to 'destabilise' Kabul

Afghan security forces have captured US dollars, Afghan currency and identity cards forged with CIA help, and circulated in a bid to "destabilise" the country, Radio Kabul said.

"The main purpose of the attempt is to destabilise the DRA (Democratic Republic of Afghanistan) and disturb peace and order in the country," the state-run radio said last Saturday.

The recently captured counterfeiters were displayed at a press conference in the Afghan capital, the Pushtu-language broadcast said, giving no date for the event.

A Turkish man who was captured by Afghan security forces not long ago has confessed he was a CIA agent said he had been given fake dollars for distribution among the Afghan people, it said.

"These are some examples of how the CIA and Pakistan operate in the interests of destabilising the DRA government, it said. — UPI

1/15 - PT - US aid to Afghan guerrillas is 10 times that being spent in Central America according to the Washington Post. Intelligence officials believe that at least 20% of the \$250m being spent this year may be diverted on its way. Some \$450m from the US & Middle East countries finance weapons, ammunition, clothing & medical supplies for

the 200-300,000 freedom fighters. Nine anti-aircraft cannons are to be provided next month at a cost of \$1m each.

1/16 - SCMP - Guerrillas overran 9 military posts in Paktia & held the 55th Afghan brigade under siege in Barkot. Reuters reports that about 11,000 additional Soviet troops have been deployed to seal the borders with Iran & Pakistan. The report also quotes a Washington Post article saying that the CIA aid to the Afghans was the largest undercover operation undertaken by the CIA since the Vietnam war.

1/17 - PT - Gulbuddin Hekmatyar reported that 570 civilians were killed by the Soviets in retaliation for a mujahideen operation in Kunduz on 12/24 in which a Soviet general was killed.

- NYT - First Soviet report of a deserter:

MOSCOW, Jan. 16 (AP) — For the first time since Soviet forces joined the fray in Afghanistan in 1979, the Kremlin acknowledged today that one of its soldiers had deserted. But it said he chose to return home after finding only "sleazy propaganda and dubious love" in the West.

The official Soviet agency Tass also accused the United States of offering Afghan rebels a bounty for live Soviet soldiers, who could be tortured and brainwashed into being traitors.

Official reports here routinely portray missing soldiers in Afghanistan as having been captured by rebels. The case of Nikolai Ryzikov, the Tass Russian-language service said, was "exceptional." It said the 20-year-old deserter had been drugged, nearly starved and visited by lovers of both sexes and with links to the Central Intelligence Agency in an attempt to get him to make anti-Soviet statements.

1/22 - PT - Mujahideen fired 6 heavy shells on Babrak's residence last week, according to Radio Tehran.

1/23 - PT - Said Moh'd Maiwand, an Afghan who runs a news service in New Delhi, said that 62 Afghans families are in jail in the Indian Punjab & in Gujerat. He also said that the latest ratio of Soviet to DRA troops was 3-1. - Bergen Record (New Jersey) - Guerrillas destroyed 10 Soviet helicopters at Begram airbase last week.

1/24 - PT - Over 10,000 Soviet troops were rushed to Eastern Afghanistan to combat guerrilla attacks in Paktia last week.

1/25 - PT - Pakistan asked for a postponement of the February round of indirect talks on Afghanistan because of Pakistan's elections which will be held next month.

1/26 - PT - The World Food Program (WFP) has pledged \$4.75m additional food aid to Afghan refugees: 720,000 tons of wheat & 1,000 tons of edible oil.

- The Economist - A new alliance:

Out of the chaotic intrigues of the Afghan resistance, something sensible has emerged. The four parties which combine military strength, reliability and broad support inside the country have agreed to form an alliance. Their problem is how to ensure that they get a fair share of the \$250m that the Americans are contributing to the Afghan resistance this year.

The quarrelling among the resistance groups has helped Russia, first, by impeding military co-operation: groups of fighters from different parties have failed to pass on information, have blocked each other's supply routes and have even laid ambushes for each other. Secondly, the factionalism has meant that the resistance has not been able to form a credible government-in-exile.

The main division between the parties so far has been on ideological lines, between Moslem fundamentalists and the traditionalists of the old Afghan establishment. Of the fundamentalist groups, the two more moderate ones, the Jamiat-i-Islami, run by a former professor at Kabul University, Mr Barhanuddin Rabbani, and the Hesb-i-Islami, run by Maulavi Younis Khalis, are also militarily the strongest and most competent of all the resistance parties. Their commanders include Mr Ahmad Shah Massoud, who held out against last year's huge Soviet onslaught on the Panjsher valley and Mr Abdul Haq, who ran the campaign last autumn which cut off power supplies to much of Kabul.

The two extreme fundamentalist parties are of a different sort. Run by Mr Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Mr Rasul Saiaf, they have done most of the sabotaging of other resistance groups and are suspected of collaborating with the Kabul regime. Their strong fundamentalism, however, has earned them most of the money. Pakistan controls its distribution, and the Pakistani fundamentalists have channelled it in the direction of the Islamic alliance. Being allied with the extremists is not easy for the moderates but at least they have had a share of the money.

The traditionalist parties, which are corrupt and not much good at fighting, have been flirting with the generally un-

popular idea of bringing back the exiled king. None the less, one of these parties, run by Maulavi Nabi Mohammedi, has more popular support than any other, as it has been a rallying point for the village mullahs.

Maulavi Mohammedi, Mr Rabbani and Maulavi Khalis have now decided to form an alliance. With them is the first Shia resistance leader to join up with Sunni parties. Sheikh Asaf Mohseni, who was formerly based in Iran. The Shias dominate much of western Afghanistan, and get some help from the Iranians. The Sunni parties' alliance with Sheikh Mohseni may mean that they will share in the Iranian goodwill.

This new alliance, with its combination of strengths, looks like an organisation which could carry conviction as an alternative government. The hitch is that Mr Rabbani is unwilling to formalise an agreement until the groups have sorted out some means of finance; while he stays with the fundamentalists, he is assured of his money. The new alliance needs either to get money directly from the Americans—which the Pakistanis would not like—or to get an agreement between America and Pakistan that it will not be discriminated against.

1/30 - SCMP - "Two Soviet country boys who died in Afghanistan are being feted as national war heroes..."

The tales of Chepik and Anfinogenov, a paratrooper sapper and a scout, are remarkably similar. Both were sons of tractor drivers, but from villages 2,500 km apart. Each was said to have set off grenades to save his comrades, killing a total of 40 "bandits" between them.

Newspaper articles have described both heroes dying face up towards the sky, in striking allusions to a famous passage in Leo Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace* that recounts the death in battle of Prince Andrei Bolkonsky.

"The last thing he could see was the peaks of the Hindu Kush and, above them, the huge, bright sky, a sky stretching all the way to his motherland," the weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* said of Chepik's death, closely echoing Tolstoy.

Until the emergence of the two Nikolais, the media largely played down the deeds of individuals among the forces in Afghanistan, always described as a limited military contingent.

2/1 - SCMP - DRA general Moh'd Amin Hakim, Commander of the Afghan Army's 14th Division, was reported killed in Paktia.

2/2 - PT - The US Government will channel humanitarian aid directly into guerrilla held areas of Afghanistan because of the possibility of famine where fighting has destroyed crops & irrigation channels. The aid is from voluntary agencies & includes medical supplies.

- Tehran Radio reports that a mujahideen siege of Panwai in Qandahar has already lasted a week.

2/3 - NYT - The DRA delivered a protest note to the Chinese chargé d'affaires in Kabul, according to Pravda, complaining of Chinese military support for the rebels.

2/5 - IHT - Bickering begins:

PESHAWAR, Pakistan - A dozen Afghan guerrilla groups are arguing over U.S. funds following reports of a big increase in covert aid, according to Afghans here.

In a rare protest last week, about 300 members of one guerrilla alliance accused their leaders of spending money meant for the war on jobs and houses for themselves and their friends.

The discord was sparked by rumors that five rebel commanders had been singled out for additional U.S. aid. But guerrilla leaders said they had not seen any of the \$280 million that U.S. press reports say have been allocated secretly this year to help the rebels fight the Soviet-backed government in Kabul.

But the reports of new aid have begun to influence poorly paid rebel commanders and workers in

political parties backing the rebels.

The protest at the so-called Moderate Alliance, a group of three nationalist parties, occurred after workers' salaries were halved or withheld. Disgruntled workers charged that the alliance was top-heavy with "advisers" whose links with leaders secured them easy jobs and bank accounts.

Sibghatullah Mujaddidi, president of the Moderate Alliance, denied the corruption charges. He said they were spread by Afghanistan's secret police. "We have no money - all the Arab money is going to the other alliance."

"Singling out an individual commander for aid is the worst thing the United States could do," said Azizullah Lodin, a leading member of the large Harakat-i Inqilabi-Islami-e party. "Other commanders will gang up on him and try to ambush his arms convoys."

2/7/- NYT - Pres. Reagan, in his State of the Union message, said: "We must stand by all our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives - on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua - to defy Soviet-supported aggression & secure rights which have been ours from birth."

2/8 - PT - The fourth round of indirect talks on Afghanistan will be put off until May.

2/9 - PT - About 10,000 pkgs of dried fruit from Afghanistan were held by Bombay customs authorities. The Rs. 20m of almonds, apricots, raisins & figs have been in customs for 6 weeks causing a crisis in the wholesale Indian dried fruit trade.

2/10 - PT - The WFP (see 1/26) has pledged an additional \$18.435m worth of emergency food assistance consisting of 75,000 tons of wheat & 3,000 tons of dates.

2/11 - PT - Guerrillas estimate that 10,000 of Moscow's 115,000 troops are now based at Samakhel, outside Jalalabad.

2/13 - NYT - Reports from New Delhi: Guerrillas rocketed Soviet hospitals in Kabul & killed or wounded 30 in the Academy of Sciences Hospital which usually treats army & party bigwigs. There were many casualties in Soviet bombing raids on Istalif.



2/14 - PT - Voice of America quoted Western diplomats as saying that Soviet forces in Kabul are spreading rumors that Babrak is ill & may be replaced by the new Defense Minister Gen. Nazar Mohammad. Babrak was last seen in public in Kabul on 2/4 and was reported in good health.

2/15 - NYT - The world's opium crop dropped by about 11% because of poor weather in Afghanistan which severely reduced the harvest. Afghanistan produced 140-180 tons, a significant drop.

2/20 - NYT - The US & the USSR opened talks on the Middle East in Vienna:

Reports from Moscow have suggested that the Soviet Union did not intend to be drawn into a discussion of Afghanistan on the ground that this was a topic already being discussed by the Afghans and Pakistanis under the auspices of the United Nations.

2/22 - NYT - The Soviets refused to discuss Afghanistan at the Vienna talks. Vladimir Polyakov, the Soviet delegate, stated that his area of responsibility in the Foreign Ministry did not include Afghanistan. Richard Murphy, Asst. Sec'y of State for Near East & South Asian Affairs is the US delegate.

2/23 - NYT - Secretary of State Shultz on Afghanistan in a speech in California:

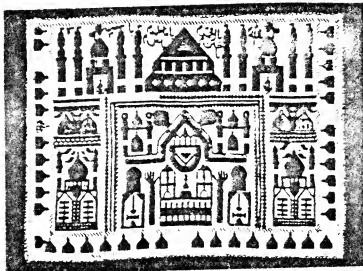
In December 1979, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan to preserve a Communist system installed by force a year and a half earlier. But their invasion met stiff resistance, and the puppet Government they installed has proved incapable of commanding popular support. Today, the Soviets have expanded their occupation army and are trying to devastate the population and the nation they cannot subdue. They are demolishing entire Af-

ghan villages and have driven one out of every four Afghans to flee the country. They have threatened neighboring countries like Pakistan and have been unwilling to negotiate seriously for a political solution.

In the face of this Soviet invasion, the Afghans who are fighting and dying for the liberation of their country have made a remarkable stand. Their will has not flagged; indeed, their capacity to resist has grown.

\* \* \* \* \*

Oversized, color postcards of Afghan textiles are available from Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, OB Burghaldenweg, CH-4410 Liestal Switzerland.



RECENT PUBLICATIONS that didn't fit on p 2 .

"Combat in Kunar by Mark Warman in SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, January, 1985.

"The Invasion of Afghanistan" by Capt. David F. McDermott in INFANTRY, 75 (1), Jan.-Feb. 1985. (Excerpts on p. 13)

"The Legacy of Haji Rahman Qol" by Whitney Azoy in the March READER'S DIGEST.

A CONFERENCE that didn't fit on page 1:

"The Soviet Presence in Afghanistan & Its Impacts on South Asia," sponsored by the University of South Carolina's Institute of Int'l Studies, on 2/8-9. Topics were "The Major Powers & the Continuing Soviet Presence in Afghanistan," "Regional Powers, National Interests & the Continuing Soviet Presence," "The War in Afghanistan & its Transnational Implications," & "Settling the War in Afghanistan: A Roundtable."

GUERRILLAS REPORTED  
IN FORCE IN TWO MAJOR  
AFGHAN CITIES  
by William Branigin  
Washington Post 2/21

BANGKOK—Kandahar, the second largest city in Afghanistan, is largely in the hands of Moslem guerrillas, who have government posts on the defensive and frequently under siege, according to a free-lance photographer who spent most of last month in and around the city.

Soviet troops are rarely seen in the southern Afghan city, but stay outside it at the heavily guarded airport, said Terence White, 35, of New Zealand.

A similar situation prevailed in the third largest city, Herat, at least as recently as October, according to Dominique Vergos, a French photographer who emerged then from more than a year of traveling with the guerrillas in Afghanistan. Vergos said armed Afghan guerrillas known as *mujaheddin* were able to ride around openly in jeeps and he estimated that they controlled about three-fourths of Herat, a city in western Afghanistan near the Iranian border that is rarely visited by westerners.

Continued on p. 20

Lost in the mountains of Afghanistan with a band of guerrillas and three trucks of weaponry, Dr Ken Grant wondered whether he would ever see his wife and children again. Initially, the 41-year-old Scottish doctor, who has worked in Afghanistan and Ethiopia for the Save the Children Fund, had jumped at the chance to set up a medical project for Health Unlimited. Now he had serious doubts about reaching his destination - let alone ever returning safely to Britain.

The original plan was for Grant and his colleague, Dr Fay Haffenden, disguised as Afghans, to accompany a group of 90 guerrillas carrying a shipment of arms from Quetta, in Pakistan, to their base at Herat, near the Iranian border. There they would discuss their ideas with Ismail Khan, leader of the Jamiat-i Islami party - one of the largest and most enterprising of the guerrilla groups.

The majority of the guerrillas were farmers. A handful were tradesmen, including a baker and a tailor. Their convoy of three trucks was laden with Kalashnikov rifles, rocket launchers, ammunition, mines and drums of benzine. Grant wore a

beard, turban, waistcoat and baggy trousers; Haffenden concealed herself beneath a chador.

They took with them sleeping-bags, blankets, camera, transistor radios and a change of clothes. Grant packed copies of *Anna Karenina*, *Little Dorrit* and *Vanity Fair* to fortify himself. "One thing I learned from working in the Third World is that modern novels are no use," he says. "What you want is the pre-television blockbusters like Dickens and Trollope." They also took a metal trunk full of medicines and dressings.

The journey was long, grueling and dangerous. Russian military activity centred around the major towns and selected areas along the border, but there were regular battles between rival bands of guerrillas. "There is fighting between an Iranian-backed Shi-ite group and the other Sunni-controlled groups," says Grant. After one skirmish he treated eight tribesmen for bullet wounds.

"The government hospitals in the main towns won't treat anyone they suspect of being a guerrilla - and that's about 95 per cent of the population," says Grant. "The Red Cross aren't allowed inside the country so they have dressing stations on

the border. This means that by the time a casualty reaches them he's likely to have gangrene. They will only treat people injured by the Russians - not those wounded during inter-Afghan fighting."

Although the Britons saw no fighting, their progress was slowed by different groups of guerrillas controlling the towns they passed through. Sometimes, they were escorted at gunpoint and billeted in empty buildings, virtually as prisoners. They passed the time treating the local sick.

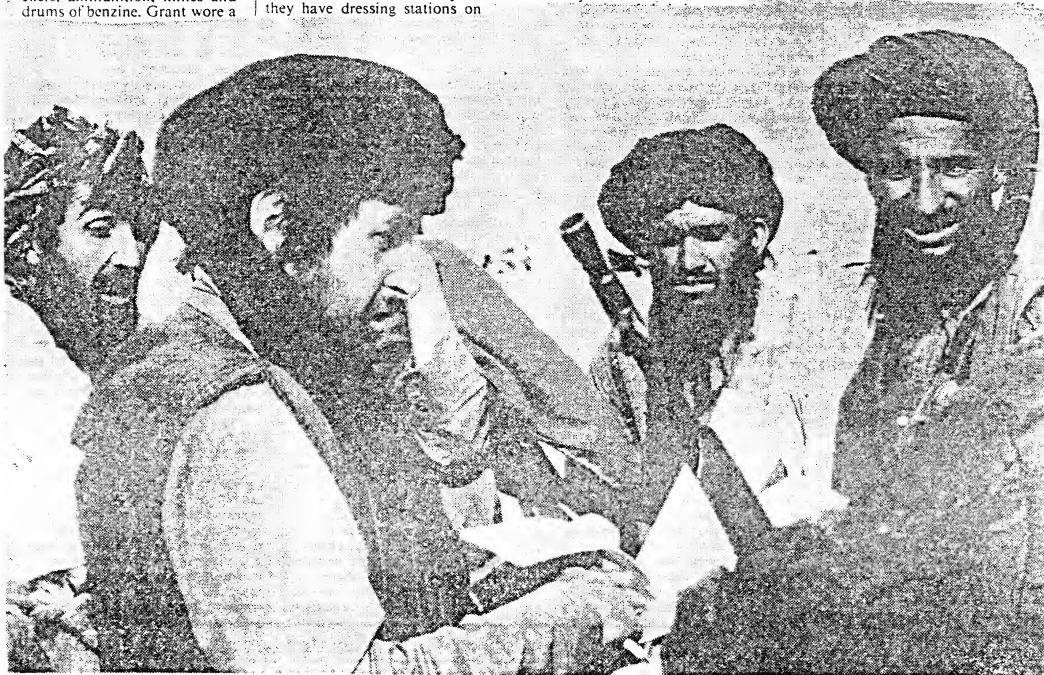
Each guerrilla movement would allow only its own transport to cross its territory. So valuable days were lost negotiating prices for a new set of trucks. Often the Jamiat paid for their transport with ammunition. The going rate was around 7000 rounds for three trucks - at 15p a round, the equivalent of £1076 in total.

At one point, the Jamiat were forced to exchange their trucks for camels and donkeys to carry their belongings over the mountains. To finance this, they sold off spare equipment - boots, combat jackets, medicines and weapons. The doctors bought a camel for £150, to be resold when they reached Herat.

They continued their journey on foot, travelling 20 miles a day along mountain roads. "We were dealing with people who think in terms of seasons not days of the week," says Grant. "The guerrillas couldn't understand why I was in such a hurry. They kept saying, 'Never mind, Ken, winter in Herat is lovely'. They regarded the whole thing rather like a boy scout outing. They were having a really lovely time."

Grant built up a friendly relationship with Karim, the 25-year-old nephew of the group's leader. "None of them spoke a word of English but Karim was very bright and very quickly picked up the limits of our Farsi vocabulary," he says. "He became known as our translator because the others would tell him what they wanted to say and he would translate it into Farsi we could understand."

"They were very curious about life in Britain. They pick up snippets from the BBC World Service and were horrified to learn that there are 187,000 unmarried mothers in Britain. They were also intrigued about how we get married. In Afghanistan a wife costs about £3.



Doctor in disguise: Ken Grant makes notes among the rebel gun-runners with whom he travelled across occupied Afghanistan

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- National Fatherland Front
NWFP	- North West Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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